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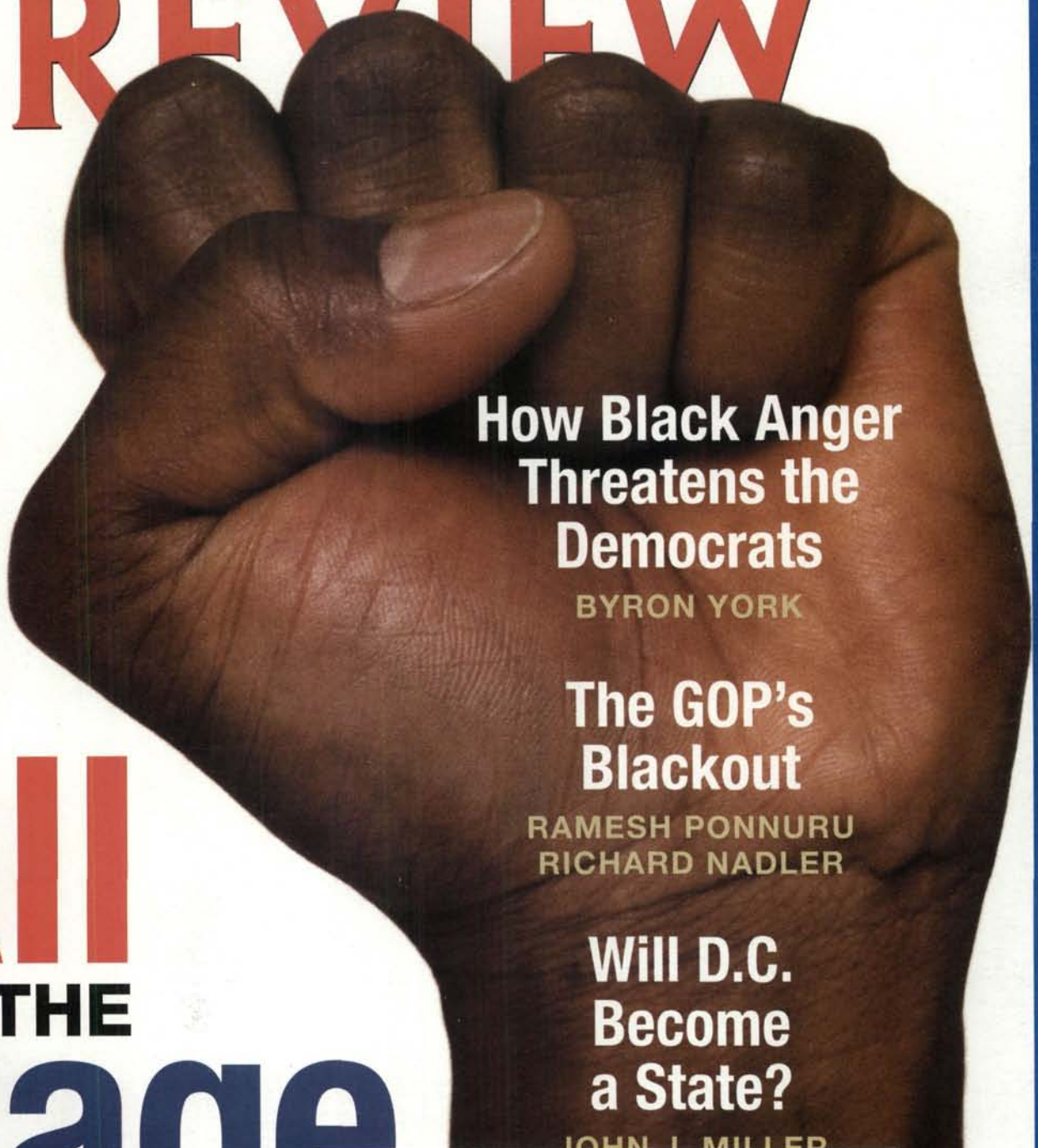
NATIONAL REVIEW



How Black Anger Threatens the Democrats

BYRON YORK

The GOP's Blackout

RAMESH PONNURU
RICHARD NADLER

Will D.C. Become a State?

JOHN J. MILLER

All THE Rage

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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■ LETTERS ■

THE DERSHOWITZ DEFENSE

The use of juvenile name-calling ("goofball"), as well as a caricature that is both grotesque and anachronistic (I haven't had a mustache or long hair for three years), should alert any objective reader to the bias of Byron York's article about me ("Alan Dershowitz, Goofball," Feb. 5). But a few additional points must be made.

It was York who called me and asked me to defend myself against the charges he ultimately included in his article. He then accuses me of being "defensive" when I accepted his offer to defend myself. He cites as his only named source for his false accusation that my reputation has suffered, the conservative legal analyst Stuart Taylor, who accuses me of being "a mercenary." Yet he knows that I take all of my cases on the basis of civil-liberties principles and never for the money; indeed, I do most of my cases pro bono, and I lost a considerable amount of money on the Simpson case.

Finally, I want to make one thing clear, and listen to this: I have never hugged that man, President Clinton. I don't know where York comes up with this nonsense, or other false statements in his article, but I surely understand the motives behind his mendacity. I hope all objective readers will as well.

Alan M. Dershowitz
Cambridge, Mass.

THE EDITORS REPLY: *First, we, not Byron York, wrote the headline that included the description "goofball." We commissioned the artwork as well: Sorry for not being alert to the change of 'do. Second, Mr. Dershowitz should know that his reputation has, indeed, suffered—not with Geraldo, maybe, but with those who once looked to him for serious analysis of legal issues. And finally, although we can state without hesitation that Mr. Dershowitz has delivered innumerable wet, public (metaphorical) kisses to Bill Clinton, we cannot prove that he ever hugged him. We stand corrected (unless anyone can supply photographic evidence to the contrary).*

The rueful tone adopted by Byron York in his article on Alan Dershowitz cannot disguise that, in the end, it is a hatchet job.

Repeatedly, the article returns to a particularly tired "sin": that Prof. Dershowitz contributed legal advice to the defense of O. J. Simpson. The barely implicit assumption is that *some* defendants are so loathsome—and unpopular—that to defend them is an unpardonable lapse of taste (especially for a *Harvard* law professor). This misses the obvious point: that the role of a defense lawyer is quite often to defend the guilty, because to do so upholds justice in the larger sense—by, for example, vindicating the Bill of Rights against police intrusion. That elements of the LAPD quite possibly attempted to frame a guilty man hardly lessens this obligation.

A more recent offense identified by Mr. York is Prof. Dershowitz's attack on Katherine Harris. While one can differ about how to describe them, her actions were, to say the least, result-oriented. To me, and I expect to Prof. Dershowitz, her peremptory behavior would have been no less troubling if exercised on behalf of Al Gore. Similarly, a number of observers besides Mr. Dershowitz have been moved to wonder whether the Supreme Court's venture into *Bush* v. *Gore*—resulting in an ideologically fractured Court and an opinion largely bereft of legal reasoning—has not seriously politicized, and therefore harmed, the Court. One is left to wonder whether Mr. York is happy enough with the electoral result to overlook the institutional damage suggested by Prof. Dershowitz.

Finally, York suggests that Prof. Dershowitz's rhetorical "excesses" are the result of a passion for air time. He seems to reject Mr. Dershowitz's explanation that he serves as a provocateur—much the same role played by NATIONAL REVIEW, particularly in its early years. And, for better or worse, provocateurs now appear on television—but not, in Prof. Dershowitz's case, at the cost of his writings or his teaching. For 35 years, Prof. Dershowitz has been among the professors most admired by his students—for his brilliance as a teacher, for his determination never to miss a class, and for his prodigious and generous promotion of *their* talents well after they've left law school.

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A world of ideas on public policy.

New leaders for new democracies?

By Roger Ream

The observation that "ideas have consequences" has been a much-repeated slogan of those working in the world of ideas. The truth of this observation was witnessed by the entire world when the ideas of freedom and the dignity of individuals swept over Central and Eastern Europe in 1989. But to bring down the dictatorships in the region, leaders of courage who embraced these ideas were needed – men such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, and many others, including thousands whose names have been lost to history.

Thomas Jefferson noted that "The generation which commences a revolution rarely completes it." With the collapse of the Soviet Empire and the supremacy of the ideas of liberal democracy comes the challenge of the next generation, and it is a significant one. The transitions underway in varying degrees throughout Central and Eastern Europe are a long way from complete.

For example, soon after the Iron Curtain fell ten years ago, newly emerging Central and Eastern European countries found themselves facing a crisis far more severe than crippled economies or corrupt politicians. Communism had left its worst scars in the mindsets and habits of the people, where they take the longest to heal and where they stand in the way of an effective transition to a free market economy and a democratic society. From high-ranking officials to the man in the street, Central and Eastern Europeans were ill-prepared for life in more open, liberal societies. Working people lacked the skills demanded in entrepreneurial economies, and citizens lacked the habits necessary for the development of civil society, particularly the voluntary spirit communism so effectively destroyed.

Now that roughly ten years have passed since the demise of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, the heroes who stood bravely against the forces of tyranny are passing the torch of leadership to the next generation. It will be the task of this new generation to complete the revolution. The challenges are still great and require both skilled leadership and a firm commitment to the principles of liberal democracy.

> ***It will do western companies little good if they have talented work forces but must operate under systems which stifle investment or fail to protect intellectual property***

One practical solution to the problem of leadership for the future is to educate young people who can spearhead continuing reform in their respective countries. Many Western organizations took up this challenge by organizing educational programs in the former Soviet Union and its satellite countries. The Fund for American Studies is one such organization. Our American Institute on Political and Economic Systems (AIPES) in Prague works in partnership with two of the oldest and most prestigious educational institutions in the U.S. and Czech capitals: Georgetown University and Charles University.

The Institute brings together 100 students each year from throughout the region with American students to discuss the ideas of the American political tradition and a free market economy. Since AIPES was founded in 1993, its graduates have moved into important positions of influence in business, government, journalism, and education. There are other similar programs that work with bright, energetic young people to prepare them to assume positions of leadership in their transforming societies.

More such efforts are needed to help complete the transition to liberal democracy and market economies. Most importantly, western business has a key role to play in this process. Western companies have a large stake in the development of open, market-oriented economies in Central and Eastern Europe. They must focus on the long-term, investing not only in identifying and training talented employees for their operations, but also in programs which are working to change the intellectual climate in the region, and building support for the principles of liberal democracy and market economies. It will do western companies little good if they have the most talented work forces imaginable but must operate under systems which stifle investment, fail to protect intellectual property, impose draconian taxes, erect barriers to the free flow of goods, or otherwise adopt policies that have no place in a global economy.

Fortunately, some western companies recognize the importance of investments in education, especially as it relates to teaching the next generation the principles of freedom. But much more is needed if the revolution is to be completed.

Roger Ream is President of the Fund for American Studies (TFAS), an international educational foundation based in Washington, D.C., which educates young leaders in the principles of democracy and free market economies. For more information on TFAS programs, including the AIPES in Prague, please contact them at 1706 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington DC, 20009, Tel: 202-986-0384, or visit www.tfas.org.

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The bottom line seems to be that Mr. York objects to Prof. Dershowitz's clients, his beliefs, and his manner of expressing them. Fine. But it would have been better if he had said so flat out, rather than mount a personal attack on the man.

Richard North Patterson
San Francisco, Calif.

SILENT CRIMES

The piece by Eli Lehrer ("Hell Behind Bars," Feb. 5) on the epidemic of male rape in prisons is a courageous effort to open the window on a tragedy that affects men in a unique, pernicious way. That such crimes are heaped upon criminals by other criminals does not lessen the moral disaster to which Lehrer calls attention. That black nationalists and white supremacists inflict their racial rubbish on each other's vulnerable human prey only compounds a problem that receives scarce analysis, and even fewer policy solutions. The relative paucity of social-science writings on the subject (in contrast to the voluminous writings on the spongy notion of "date rape") is itself a sign of "the crime that dare not speak its name." The issues raised in this essay go to the heart of our society no less than the law.

Irving Louis Horowitz
New Brunswick, N.J.

DEBATING PROFILING

John Derbyshire, in "The Case for Racial Profiling" (Feb. 19), says much that is correct, but his conclusion—that racial profiling is an acceptable policy—is wrong.

Mr. Derbyshire is correct that racial profiling is perfectly rational—at least, if all the police are trying to do is maximize in the short term the number of their successful searches and seizures. But the police must also think of the long term, and successful policing requires the confidence and cooperation of the rest of the community. Moreover, the order that the police are charged with maintaining includes not just the prevention of crime but the racially unbiased treatment of law-abiding citizens.

Being stopped by the police because of your race is a big deal, especially given our country's sad history of discrimination. Conservatives who object to racial preferences and stereotyping—politely called "affirmative action"—in, for instance, college admissions should reject the same approach to policing. And one can oppose profiling and still support aggressive policing that results in racially disproportionate arrests.

Mr. Derbyshire concludes by warning that "Americans are drifting away from the concept of belonging to a single nation." I agree, and would add that racial profiling is flatly inconsistent with that unitary ideal.

Roger Clegg
Center for Equal Opportunity
Washington, D.C.

JOHN DERBYSHIRE REPLIES: *"Our country's sad history of discrimination" is precisely that—history. The "order that the police are charged with maintaining" does not include "the racially unbiased treatment of law-abiding citizens." It cannot, since the police do not know who is law-abiding and who isn't, until they have initiated some inquiries. And does Mr. Clegg really think "the confidence and cooperation" of black Americans will generally be available any time soon? The parallel with "affirmative action" is entirely bogus, as "affirmative action" has no rational purpose.*

DAMN DOTS

I was saddened to see that the NYSE has switched to decimal notation, from its venerable quarters, eighths, and sixteenths ("The Week," Feb. 19). What astonishes me is the notion that decimal notation is somehow more "scientific," which is the opposite of the truth. Anyone who has programmed a computer knows that because computer arithmetic is performed in base 16, a computer can compute quarters, eighths, and sixteenths exactly, whereas conversion to and from base 10 always involves a rounding error that lessens the exactness of the computation.

Changes like those at the NYSE will lessen the speed and the exactness with which prices can be computed, to the benefit of no one.

Fred Butzen
Chicago, Ill.

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LOOK AWAY

I was surprised by the heavy-handed and shallow indictment of the antebellum South ("Blood, Soil, and Sense") in your Feb. 5 issue. Far from being "corrupted," the political theory of the South was far sounder than that of the northern radicals, which led ultimately to the monolithic leviathan under which we now suffer. News flash: No one defends slavery anymore. Why alienate southern conservatives by attacking straw men? Lighten up, and leave us alone.

Joseph F. Johnston Jr.
Alexandria, Va.

ONE MORE

Dave Shiflett deftly indicts Jesse Jackson for breaking two of the Ten Commandments, committing adultery and bearing false witness ("The Rev. Untouchable," Feb. 19). He rightly adds hypocrisy and chutzpah. But he only hints at the Eighth Commandment: Thou shalt not steal. Has not Jackson extorted large sums of money from top American CEOs by accusing them of "racism" and threatening to boycott their products? Is not extortion an especially reprehensible form of stealing?

Ernest W. Lefever
Chevy Chase, Md.

CORRECTION

RAMESH PONNURU WRITES: In "Days of Reckonings" (Feb. 19), I chide *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman for writing that then-presidential candidate George W. Bush's tax plan would not cut marginal tax rates for many middle-income taxpayers. He was right, and I was wrong. While Bush's plan cuts average tax rates for everyone who pays income taxes, it does not cut the 15 percent marginal tax rate for singles making between $6,000 and $27,050 or for couples making between $12,001 and $45,000. My apologies to readers, and to Mr. Krugman.

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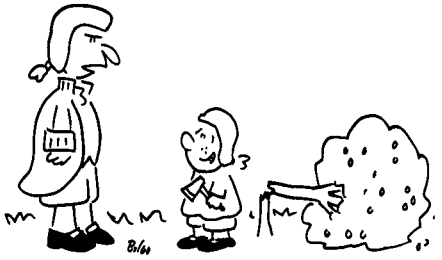
■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s favorable rating, according to Gallup: 64 percent. **Bill Clinton**'s: 51 percent. . . . "Hail to the Chief" doesn't play for Bush during first weeks of presidency, at Bush's request. White House official calls it "example of humility and decency and fairness," in *Washington Post*. "I think it'll just be played at fewer occasions, rather than more occasions," says press secretary **Ari Fleischer**. "He likes the song a whole lot, as a matter of fact. He worked hard to get it played." . . . Bush to Rep. **Barney Frank** (D., Mass.), following appearance at House Democrat retreat, according to *Washington Post*: "Thanks for not asking a question." . . . Bush tells Oklahoma governor **Frank Keating** (R.) that he finished runner-up in VP selection process, according to Keating spokesman **Dan Mahoney**. . . . Bush delays decision on banning federal stem-cell and fetal-tissue research. . . . "The personal attacks were very difficult," says Florida secretary of state **Katherine Harris**, in *New York Times*. "But following the law was very simple." . . . Less than one hour after shooting incident outside White House, Rep. **Jerrold Nadler** (D., N.Y.) issues press release demanding "handgun licensing and registration" hearings, reports *Roll Call*. Explains Nadler spokesman **Eric Schmeltzer**: "You need to jump on it quickly to make sure the political point is made in the stories."

■ DNC chief **Terry McAuliffe**, on *Meet the Press*: "I feel pretty safe saying, making a Shermanesque statement here, that **Hillary Rodham Clinton** will not run for president in 2004." . . . More McAuliffe: **Gore** "will probably run. . . . He certainly has a right to argue that he should be the front-runner." . . . Sen. **Evan Bayh** (D., Ind.), now at helm of Democratic Leadership Council, holds more than $2 million in hand. . . . Bayh votes in favor of confirming interior secretary **Gale Norton** in committee, but against her on the Senate floor. . . . "We're licking our wounds and regrouping" in wake of failing to capture House, says Rep. **Earl Pomeroy** (D., N.D.), in *Washington Post*. . . . "If the Democrats lose more than a dozen seats through redistricting, you could see a rash of retirements," says Rep. **James P. Moran** (D., Va.). . . . Democrats worry decision by Rep. **Timothy J. Roemer** (D., Ind.) to retire is first in wave of House Democrats who won't seek re-election in 2002. . . . Rep. **David Obey** (D., Wisc.) on tax cuts: "I do not believe there is a prayer of stopping this."

■ In Cato Institute/Zogby poll, 70 percent favor "allowing workers to invest a portion of Social Security payroll taxes in personal retirement accounts similar to IRAs." . . . McLaughlin and Associates poll: 70 percent support missile-defense system. . . . Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.) reconsiders his opposition to nuclear test-ban treaty. . . . In Newark *Star-Ledger* poll, 64 percent of New Jersey adults say they won't miss **Christie Whitman**, leaving governorship to head EPA, including 54 percent of Republicans. . . . Supreme Court justice **Sandra Day O'Connor** hires law clerks for term starting in October 2002 and interviews for 2003 term. . . . Massachusetts considers selling the naming rights of Boston subway stations to corporations. . . . Oklahoma City terrorist **Timothy McVeigh** requests his execution, set for May 16, be televised.



"What do you mean, the tree started it?"

■ Clinton rakes in $100,000 speaking fee from Morgan Stanley. Audience member **John Gildea**, in Daytona Beach *News Journal*: "I've never heard so many I's in my life. That's all the speech was: I, I, I." . . . Morgan Stanley chairman **Philip Purcell**, in e-mail to clients a few days later: "We clearly made a mistake. . . . We should have been far more sensitive to the strong feelings of our clients over Mr. Clinton's personal behavior as president. . . . [The invitation] was particularly unfortunate in light of Mr. Clinton's actions in leaving the White House." . . . Sen. **Arlen Specter** (R., Pa.), who voted against removing Clinton from office two years ago, suggests the former president "technically could still be impeached" over pardon abuses. . . . "I'm going to fire whoever scheduled this interview," says former interior secretary **Bruce Babbitt**, during on-camera session with ABC's **John Stossel** for show on government waste. "I really don't want to do this," adds Babbitt, before storming off. . . . Time for *New York Post*'s annual **Eric Breindel** Award, named for late editorial-page editor, a crusader against Communism and other evils. Award is for opinion journalism, and is worth $10,000, the most lucrative of its kind. Applications can be obtained from Sheila Malecki at (212) 930-8692. All submissions to be postmarked by March 30. Donations can be sent to The Eric Breindel Memorial Foundation, 1211 Ave. of the Americas, 3rd floor, N.Y., N.Y. 10036.

■ **Margaret Thatcher** intended to call for Britain's withdrawal from EU last year, until Conservative Party leader **William Hague** said it would split party and undermine his leadership, reports *Mail on Sunday*. . . . BBC Radio poll shows one-third of British wanting to quit EU. . . . North Korean strongman **Kim Jong Il** expected to visit Moscow in April. . . . **Sergei Tretyakov**, Russian intelligence officer working undercover at United Nations, abandons Russia for United States. . . . France passes "parity law," requiring political parties to field equal numbers of male and female candidates in most elections.

■ Sen. **Zell Miller** (D., Ga.), on economists who say Bush tax plan is too generous, on Fox News: "I listen to what these propeller-heads have to say and then I go ahead and say that I am for a tax cut." **NR**

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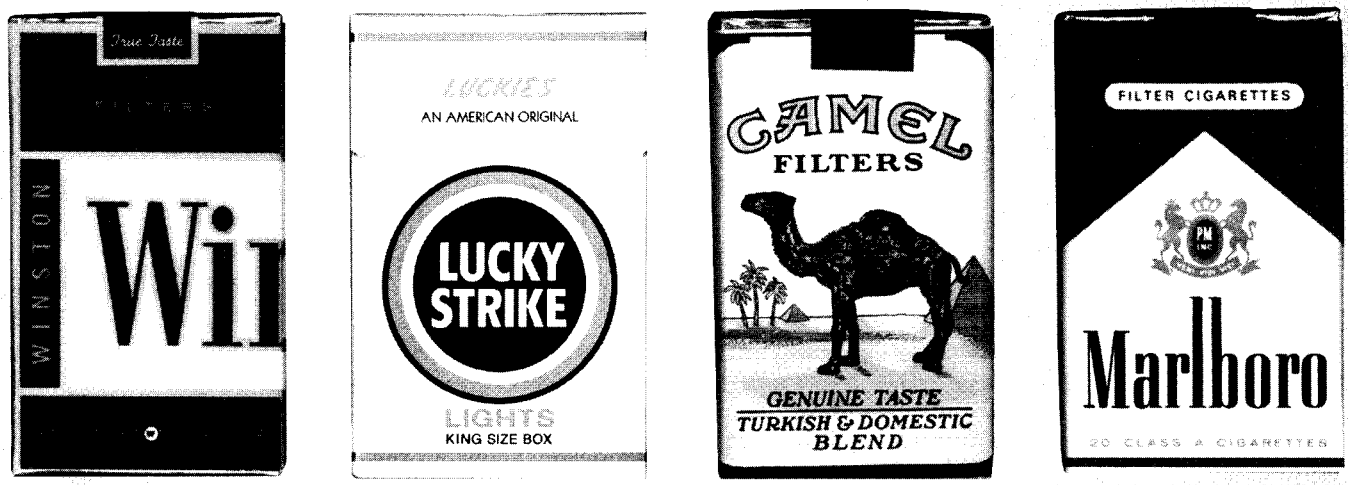

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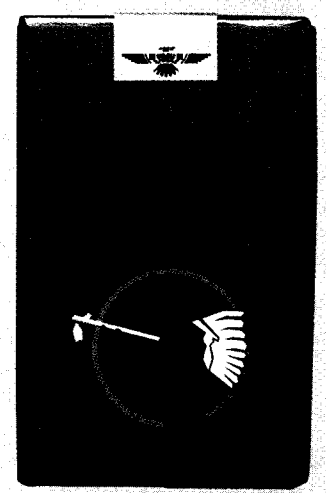

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THE WEEK

■ Former president Clinton is moving to Harlem. There goes the neighborhood.

■ Critics of President Bush's tax cut have come up with a new talking point: If he were really interested in anything more than cutting taxes for the rich, he would have proposed to cut the payroll tax (which falls more heavily on the working poor). This is said to demonstrate Bush's hypocrisy. But the real hypocrisy here is on the part of the critics, and it is a many-splendored thing. 1) During two decades of rising payroll taxes, liberals have not proposed doing anything about them. 2) If Bush had proposed cutting the payroll tax, they would be yelling themselves hoarse saying he was endangering Social Security and Medicare, which the tax funds. 3) Bush *has* proposed cutting the payroll tax, in a manner of speaking, and liberals have reacted exactly as predicted. His Social Security plan would let workers get back two points of the tax so long as they invest the money. Liberals bitterly oppose this idea because it allegedly endangers Social Security. 4) Their implicit alternative? A massive increase in the payroll tax.

■ John McCain professed to be making his early, disruptive push for campaign-finance reform this year to *help* President Bush. McCain would supposedly vanquish all the special interests in Washington, thus clearing away obstacles to W.'s agenda. So what's his excuse for teaming up with Sen. Ted Kennedy to sponsor a patients' "bill of rights"? McCain's impulse to help apparently knows no bounds—since he's rumored to be cooking up a gun-control measure next. As for the patients' "bill of rights," if you leave aside the principled objection that the federal government should have no role in regulating health care, and the practical political objection that the McCain-Kennedy bill would help enrich trial lawyers, there is still the small matter that further regulation of the health-care market makes insurance more expensive, and therefore increases the ranks of the uninsured. So the patients' "bill of rights" will eventually provide the predicate for more "bipartisan" health-care legislation—sponsored, no doubt, by Democrats and a certain key Bush-administration ally from Arizona.

■ Remember that "opposition from U.S. allies" to national missile defense? In a classic demonstration of the efficacy of sheer resolve in politics, it is melting away in response to the Bush administration's determination to defend America from missile attack—arms-control pieties be damned. British foreign secretary Robin Cook says, "If [missile defense] means the U.S. feels more secure and therefore feels more able to assert itself in international areas of concern to us, we would regard that as a net gain in security." German foreign minister Joschka Fischer—last heard explaining why he beat a policeman as a young New Left thug—says that missile defense "above all is a national decision for the United States." All of this is in response to the Bush administration's words, which now need some follow-up. The only viable long-range system currently available to the U.S. is the limited one for deployment in Alaska that the Clinton administration had planned, then backed away from. Bush should immediately begin construction of that system's radar—the element that will take longest to build and on which the rest of the system depends—as the necessary first step toward a more extensive defense. If actions follow words, who knows? Maybe not just the allies, but even the Russians and Chinese will eventually get the message.

■ President Bush wants Head Start, the early-education program for poor children, to spend more time teaching tots to read. As part of that shift, the program would move from the Department of Health and Human Services to the Department of Education. Bush's idea may be a good one. But it is hard to evaluate it honestly when nobody is willing to acknowledge the backdrop: Head Start has been a failure. No study has ever shown that children in Head Start, or similar "early intervention" programs, gain any lasting benefit from it. The *New York Times*, in a story on Bush's plan, reports that "few today question the program's value for poor children." Maybe they should start.

■ Virginia's car-tax repeal appears to have stalled. Even though Gov. Jim Gilmore—the new head of the Republican National Committee—won election in 1997 on the promise of ending the tax, which cost some drivers more than $1,000 per vehicle, there is a push under way in Richmond to retreat from the full phase-out promised by 2002. It's not as though the state is facing a financial crunch: Its budget has grown faster than those of all but four other states since Gilmore took office, outpacing population growth, inflation, and even personal-income growth. But northern-Virginia business interests want Gilmore and the Republicans to renege, and pay for more road construction instead. Gilmore is holding firm, but his legacy and the fate of the Virginia GOP are at stake.

■ The Rockefeller Drug Laws, enacted by New York State at the behest of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in 1973, were a symbol of national concern over drugs. Heroin, and addict-related crime, had been a plague in inner cities for decades, while other drugs had more recently ensnared the children of the middle class. Prohibition was already the national drug policy;

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Counterrevolution ir

/illiam Damon is a senior ellow, Hoover Institution; lirector, Stanford Center on Adolescence; and professor of education, Stanford University.

Those of us who dwell on campuses and read the *Chronicle of Higher Education* have noticed a recent counterrevolution in the teaching of college humanities. The winds have shifted away from the "deconstructionist" criticism that uncovered hidden themes of race, class, and gender to the more direct "teaching of the text." Aesthetics have become popular again. Instructors have once again taken up the charge of showing students why and how people can perceive beauty in a Shakespearian sonnet or a Rembrandt portrait. Back in style are the profound lessons of truth and meaning.

Why the change? It seems that market forces do work. Students were checking out from obscure, agenda-driven, negative courses dominated by critical theory, finding little reason to sit through the lectures or read the assignments. If the classic texts were seen as neither beautiful nor true, but were taught simply as indications of exploitations long past, why bother with them? The return of *appreciation* for the texts is reawakening student interest.

A similar counterrevolution is needed in teaching historical and civic understanding to elementary and secondary school students. **The rage among trendsetters is "cosmopolitan education," a notion that sets itself in opposition to traditional values such as patriotism.** One leading educator, for example, urges schools to avoid instilling "irrational" patriotism "full of color and intensity and passion," claiming that the notion of national belonging "reinforces this kind of irrationality, by lending to what is an accident of history a false air of moral weight and glory." Combined with a teaching of history that emphasizes our country's sins rather than its achievements, the message that students are receiving is negative. My high school daughter (and even her young history teacher, I fear) know far more about how settlers mistreated Native Americans than about how they created the Bill of Rights or outlawed the slave trade.

Critical thinking is essential for any citizen in a democracy, and schools must foster it. But when we *begin* with a critical tone and lean on it repeatedly, students become disaffected. A sense of positive identification is a prerequisite for constructive engagement. Young people need to *care about* something enough to bother criticizing it and improving it.

Young people have turned away from civic engagement to an extent never before witnessed in our society. Voting among 18–24-year-olds, their interest in political campaigns, even their willingness to run for school offices, have all declined sharply over the past twenty-five years. To foster in our young a positive identification with their civil society, we need to give them compelling reasons to become attached.

We must begin by telling students about the best of our traditions and the finest episodes in our history and why so many of their forbearers cherished those traditions enough to devote and even sacrifice their lives to preserve them. We must show the young why patriotism in its noblest sense—open, inclusive, the heart and soul of our free and democratic society—is a virtue and not a vice.

— William Damon

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

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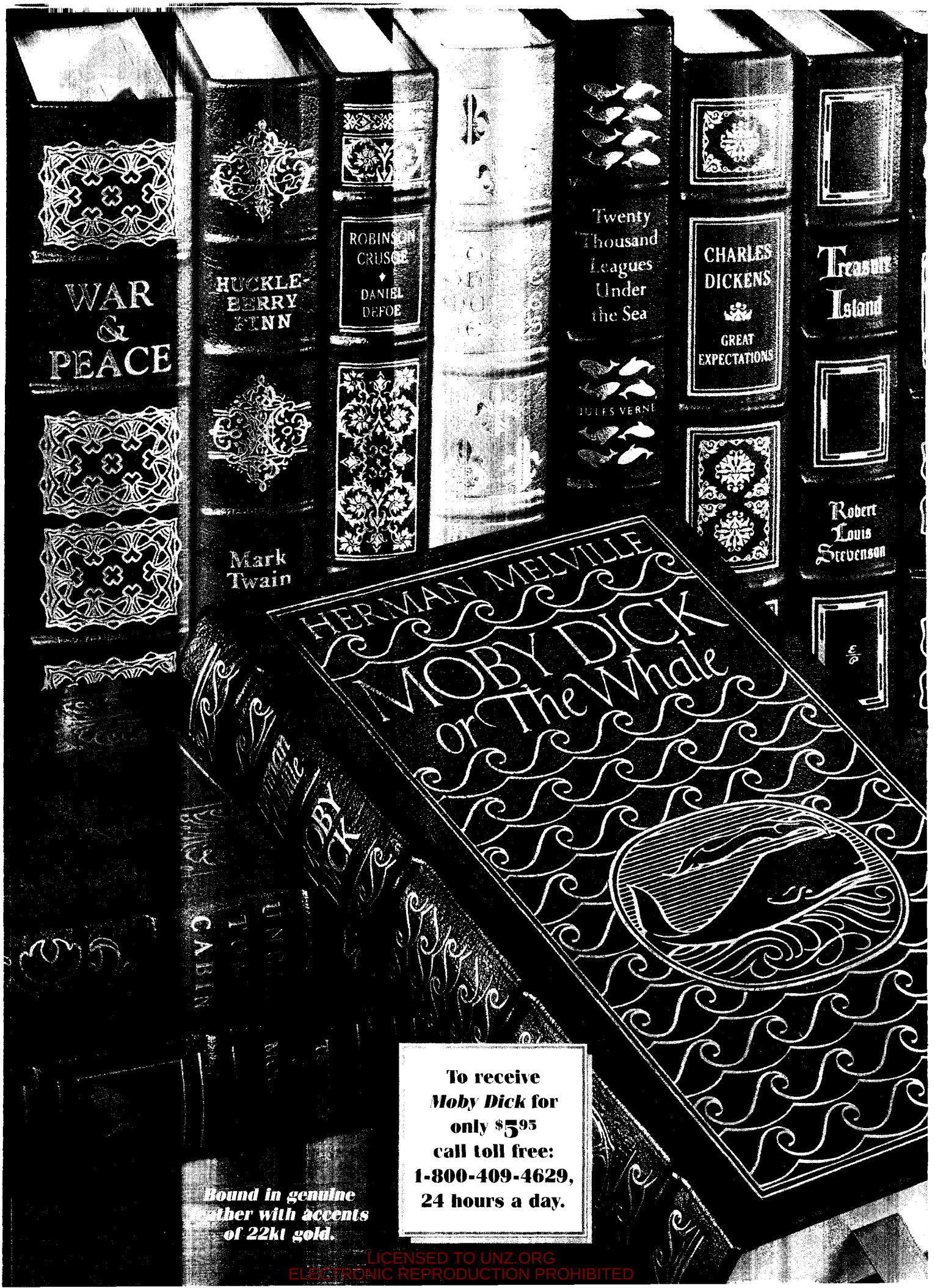

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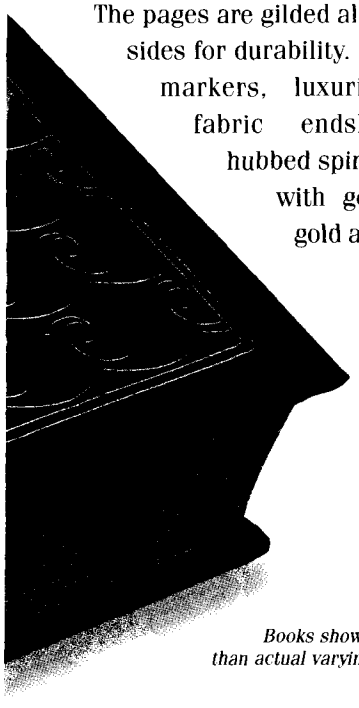

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the Rockefeller laws ratcheted up the punishments, making sentences mandatory and harsh. Four governors and 28 years later, Gov. George Pataki has proposed revising the Rockefeller laws, in response to another shift in public concern. Hard prohibition filled the courts and the jails, yet the array of drugs has increased, while drug use and drug crime, though they have diminished recently, are still higher than 1973 levels. Elite opinion now favors treatment over punishment for drug users. Milder drug laws would have their own consequences, not all of them painless: Drug use would inevitably go up, at least in the short run, and money saved on crime control would have to be spent on treatment programs. But the time for a long-overdue fresh look at our drug policies seems to have come.

■ The black sheep of the Clinton family (can this be right?) is Bill's half-brother, Roger, who served a year in jail for a drug offense back in the 1980s. Roger Clinton turned up on the list of those pardoned by the 42nd president on leaving office. So did Mitchell Wood, one of Roger's customers, who had also served jail time. The flabbergasted Wood told the *New York Post*: "I have no earthly idea how it happened. I didn't know anybody. I'm just blessed." So are we, Mitch—since January 20, so are we.

■ *Vive la différence* was the traditional slogan in France in the war between the sexes, a war conducted with a civility and style that set a standard for the rest of the developed world. One result was that women were conspicuously "underrepresented" in politics. Less than one in ten members of the national parliament were women. By contrast, 13 percent of the U.S. Senate are women, and the proportion is almost half in Sweden's legislature. Under great pressure from feminist associations and lobbies, with the support of the Socialists, the French have passed a law obliging all political parties to put up an equal number of male and female candidates in almost all elections. Municipal elections in March will be the first testing of this law. Only 7 percent of France's mayors are women. The country is now being scoured for suitable candidates, and many feminists find this process demeaning. Some resent the compulsory quota as condescending; others claim that men are promoting their own particular women, wives included. *Vive la différence* may be down, but perhaps not quite out.

The Pardoner's Tale

It would have bombed among those who
Were Canterbury-bound to strew
Rosemary on the martyr's tomb;
So Henry Waxman filled the room
With imprecations that recalled
Savonarola when appalled.
As for the pardoner himself,
He's still the same thumb-sucking elf.

—W. H. von Dreele

■ The president of Senegal is named Abdoulaye Wade, and we rather like the cut of his jib. A meeting of African leaders was held in Mr. Wade's country in January, to prepare for a "world conference" on racial bigotry and injustice later this year. In his welcoming address, Mr. Wade delivered himself of the opinion that racism against Africans in places like Europe was "marginal" when compared with ethnic conflicts in Africa. He further remarked that the lack of democracy on his continent was a far bigger problem than discrimination against Africans abroad. In a closing flourish, Mr. Wade referred to campaigns demanding compensation for slavery and colonialism as "childish." Citizens of the neighboring Ivory Coast, outraged by Mr. Wade's observations, took to the streets and looted Senegalese-owned stores, thus demonstrating . . . oh, you can figure it out.

■ No matter how low Jesse Jackson sinks, he is certain soon to sink lower. Here he is recently on capital punishment, addressing the majority who support it: "Jesus [was] on a death row. And one night Pilate wanted to give him a rescue pardon, but he took a poll of what the people said to determine what he should do. The people said to kill [Jesus], so [Pilate] went to the charges and killed Christ." If bogus analogies were horses, intellectual beggars might ride. Jesus was not, repeat not, a murderer, especially not a heinous or multiple murderer. The use of the death penalty, obviously, signifies our high regard for law-abiding life. We reserve our severest penalty for those (some of those) who take such life.

■ Who wanted to talk to the Unabomber? Just about everyone, according to Ted Kaczynski's own files, unearthed by TheSmokingGun.com. "[I]t's in your better interests to explain yourself to the nation" (*Good Morning America*). "[Y]our writing awakened . . . a desire to smash down technological society" (*60 Minutes II*). "Barbara Walters will provide a fair forum for you to express your views, and you could reach the most people by appearing on *20/20*." Every journalist wants the scoop, and the most effective ones aren't very scrupulous about getting it. But Kaczynski had already explained himself, at great length, in his ramblings published, under threat, in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. All these requests for an interview treat him as a thinker, as well as a murderer. Have newshounds gone to such lengths to get the thoughts of Timothy McVeigh? Of the Arabs who tried to blow up the World Trade Center? Of murderers of abortionists? Some kooks are on our wavelength, some aren't. Kaczynski was Thoreau with plastique, and to a lot of people, seemingly, that was not so far beyond the pale that they couldn't see him from where they stood.

■ Black History Month, a.k.a February, has rolled around again. Why? Isn't this the clearest case of an intended benefit

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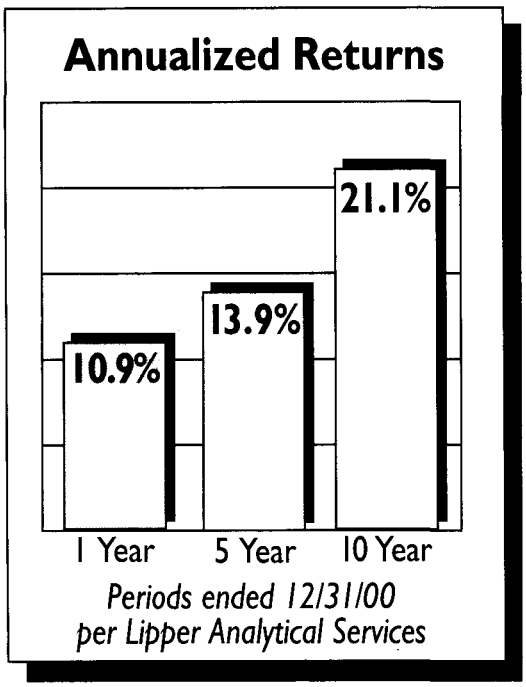

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giving the beneficiaries less than their due? When blacks have lived on the Atlantic seaboard since the 17th century; when the great national trauma, the Civil War, spun around slavery and race; when American religion and culture would be unrecognizable if blacks were whited out—isn't it absurd to imply that, from March through January, black Americans are somehow missing from the historical picture? Whatever need there was to readjust the national focus in the wake of desegregation, an institution like Black History Month now serves only to make white Americans feel dutiful, and black Americans feel separate. Carl Jung once said that, to his eye, all Americans moved like Negroes. We move like Americans, sir.

■ Pity, if you can, Sean "Puffy" Combs. Puff Daddy has fallen victim to crossover crossfire. The rap producer got rich pushing the careers of people who sang about murder and, from time to time, were in fact murdered. Then he yearned for the social graces. High society, as enthralled with hoodlums as he was with it, took him up. His parties on St. Bart's became go-to events. He had it all—Glocks, gold necklaces, invitations. But there are still laws that even the gods must obey. One night, Combs and his girlfriend, actress Jennifer Lopez, were apprehended by police after speeding away from a nightclub where shots had been fired into the air, allegedly by Combs or his bodyguards or both. Though the deed was less consequential than O.J.'s murders, or Bill Clinton's obstruction of justice, there were smoking guns, in Combs's getaway vehicle. The law is taking its tedious course, and though Al Sharpton has sprung to Combs's side, Miss Lopez has left him. (Whom would you rather have as arm candy?) The culture told him he could do anything he liked, but life seems to be showing him that he can't. Puff Daddy will have to face it like a man.

■ "Its mystery is its life. We must not let in daylight upon magic." Thus Walter Bagehot, the great 19th-century British commentator, on his nation's monarchy. Determined to have no truck with such musty precepts, Britain's Prince William has announced his intention to drop the title "His Royal Highness" that traditionally prefixes a royal prince's name when uttered or written in the third person. He has also made it clear that he does not expect anyone to bow to him or call him "Sir." His Royal Highness is said to have taken his cue from his mother, the late Princess Diana, who also dropped the "HRH." Since both mystery and magic have long since been swept from the world by the cleansing breezes of modernity, it is futile to oppose such things. Bagehot will, without any shadow of a doubt, be proved correct in his implication that the monarchy will not long survive Williamesque gestures.

■ When told the speed of light, George Bernard Shaw supposedly called it the most obvious lie he had ever heard. What should laymen (that is, 99.9 percent of us) make of the news that the human genome has been mapped? One interesting aspect of the findings—still disputed by some researchers—is that humans have less genetic material than was previously thought: The doctrine of natural law, the *Well Tempered Clavier*, and the genome project itself are evidently the products of a margin of complexity only a few times greater than that of fruit flies or roundworms. The real booster, it seems, is not the number of genetic units, but the interactions between them and other particles, such as proteins. Interconnections, not mass, produce qualitative change—an insight that appeals, one would imagine, to computer programmers. The question that is relevant to every discovery is what power will be gained, and what sort of power? Sen. Pete Domenici spoke hopefully of the possibility of fighting disease; science-fiction writers, and so-called ethicists, will be spinning scenarios about fruit flies that can do calculus. Considering the havoc humans wreak with simple projectiles and sharp edges, such vistas will not all be pleasant. Exploring humanity will have to take right and wrong along in its luggage. Finally, we will discover, as we always have, that however much we know, there is always more still to learn, and more that will never be learned. We can understand the bands of Orion, not loose them.

■ Noting that 51 percent of the grades Harvard undergraduates get are A's or A minuses, Prof. Harvey Mansfield has decided to stop penalizing his students by grading them more realistically. He will now grade them by prevailing standards for official purposes, while giving them unofficial grades indicating their true performance. Nice idea. Dartmouth College perhaps has a better idea. On student transcripts, the official grade is recorded. But also indicated is the average grade in the course. This allows anyone reading the transcript to understand what the grade is worth—which, of course, is considerably less than what it would be worth if there were more professors like Mansfield.

TAX CUTS

The Uses of 'Frenzy'

IT'S bad enough, from the liberal point of view, that taxes are likely to be cut this year. Worse, the size of the tax cut keeps growing. Every other day, some Democratic congressman says he would be willing to tolerate, or some Republican congressman demands, a larger tax cut. For Washington to throw so much money away, scattering it willy-nilly to people whose only claim on it is that they earned it in the first place . . . well, one can understand why liberals would grope for some term to explain this irrational behavior. The capital is in the middle of—a "feeding frenzy."

The term is meant to suggest that the tax cut keeps growing either because business lobbies are scrambling to get special tax breaks while they have the chance or because politicians are one-upping each other to pander to taxpayers. This process caused Ronald Reagan's tax cut to grow out of control in 1981. We suffered from deficits for two terrible decades as a result.

Or so the story goes. In fact, the tax cut Congress passed in 1981 was fairly close in size to the one Reagan proposed, and business tax cuts were a small part of both. The deficit grew largely because inflation fell much more rapidly than anyone

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expected (bringing revenues down) and because the economy sank into a severe recession (increasing spending and cutting revenues further). In later years, Congress routinely declared Reagan's budgets "dead on arrival" and spent many billions more than he requested. So deficits persisted. But the low-tax, low-inflation economy chugged along: Incomes, employment rates, and investment levels all grew in the years following the tax cut. It was economic conditions that determined the size of the deficit, not vice versa. When the deficit disappeared in the late Nineties, it was because the economy was generating revenues faster than Washington could spend them.

The Reagan tax-cut "feeding frenzy" is a myth. Yet many Republicans—including, weirdly enough, George W. Bush—appear to believe it. Sen. Olympia Snowe, Republican from Maine, has cautioned against repeating the '81 experience. As written, Bush's plan cuts taxes in stages over a period of years. Snowe wants an amendment that would call a halt to the tax cuts whenever the surplus comes in below projections. The idea is perverse both politically, since it would make tax cuts hostage to congressional spending appetites, and economically, since it would block tax cuts whenever the economy turned sour and revenues consequently fell.

President Bush, meanwhile, has cautioned against expanding the tax cut, as proposed by a group of House Republicans led by Pennsylvanian Pat Toomey. (At least that's Bush's public line: In private, the White House is sending mixed messages.) But Toomey's bill would guard against a repetition of one of the real mistakes of 1981. Reagan's tax cuts were staggered, too, creating an incentive for people to defer profit-making opportunities until they took full effect. As a result, they probably depressed economic activity until they were fully implemented in 1983. Bush's tax cut takes even longer than Reagan's to phase in. Toomey's bill is bigger than Bush's mainly because it accelerates the tax cut and indeed makes it retroactive, largely avoiding the problem of deferral.

The Toomey bill also has additional pro-growth provisions: It cuts the capital-gains tax, eliminates the alternative minimum tax, and expands IRAs, among other things. Its very existence tugs the tax debate to the right, ensuring that whatever compromise emerges will be larger than it would have been. But the Toomey bill is worth passing in its own right. As a general rule, indeed, Republicans should go for the largest tax cut that can pass Congress.

The "feeding frenzy" rhetoric obscures the reality that much of politics in a welfare state consists of nothing other than attempts to win the allegiance of various constituencies, large and small, through subsidies. Parties that stand for less government are always at a disadvantage in this contest: To the extent that they live up to their principles, they have less to offer. Tax cuts reverse this political logic. For once, the party of less is the party of more; it can win the bidding war. The greater its victory, the fewer the favors the party of subsidy has left to hand out. Special-interest tax breaks, for instance, lose their luster when taxes are low to start with. So broad-based tax cuts are an assault on the political foundations of the welfare state even when they leave its finances intact; and liberals sense this. No wonder they're in a frenzy.

DEFENSE

More, Please

HELP may still be on the way—just not yet. The Bush administration has rankled conservatives on Capitol Hill by deferring any significant increase in the defense budget until it completes a "top-to-bottom review" of military strategy. For Republicans who took seriously the Bush campaign's catch-the-falling-flag rhetoric about morale and readiness, and who know the dubious place that top-to-bottom reviews occupy in the Beltway cosmos (somewhere between a blue-ribbon panel and a bipartisan commission), this smells like a broken promise.

It's not—at least not yet. In his September 1999 speech on military policy at The Citadel, Bush promised an immediate $1 billion for increased pay, a review of America's commitments abroad (with an eye to ending U.S. civics work in the Balkans), deployment of a missile-defense system, and a comprehensive rethinking of American military policy in an effort to rationalize Pentagon practices and to invest in "skipping a generation of technology."

Bush has so far followed his script. He has delivered on the pay raise (the easy part). He is tapping on the brakes of our Balkans commitment. His evident seriousness about missile defense has already softened the opposition of our allies to the idea. And, of course, the reviewing and rethinking is in full swing. But there was an implicit promise in Bush's talk of a readiness crisis that he would, if elected, provide some immediate relief (why campaign against a crisis you are only going to perpetuate?). Analysts who agree with Bush's wheels-coming-off assessment of the military say a $5–10 billion spending boost is necessary just to keep the Army stocked in ammunition and the Navy from having to cancel deployments. But this hasn't been forthcoming, as the White House halted a scramble at Donald Rumsfeld's Defense Department to prepare a supplemental spending bill that would have addressed the readiness gap.

There are two tactical considerations at play. While working to pass its tax bill, the administration doesn't want the distraction of a supplemental spending bill that could grow larger and highlight Capitol Hill's fiscal incontinence. Understandable. But it hasn't been so shy about pushing additional educational spending (and without the benefit of a top-to-bottom review, which might have established the worthlessness of such spending—but never mind). The other goal is to whack a rolled-up newspaper across the noses of the Joint Chiefs, establishing that the Bushies mean business in reforming the Pentagon. Conservatives may instinctively recoil at anyone saying no to the chiefs, but this might be a worthwhile drill, so long as it advances the long-term goal of changing the way the Pentagon works, and so long as—message successfully sent—the supplemental spending comes this year.

It is important to remember that the Defense Department is a bureaucracy, too, beset by all the usual turf battles and

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shortsightedness. The services currently clamor for weapons systems that are based on fighting the last war (or the one before that), and that are often flatly nonsensical. Everyone agrees that the Army needs to be lighter and more mobile, for instance, but it persists in pursuing its "Crusader" artillery gun, which is as lithe as a rhino and can fit on a cargo plane only one at a time. Imposing order on this process and carefully planning a future force—rather than lumbering along, just at a slightly accelerated clip—is a basic civilian responsibility, neglected by the Clinton administration. But no one should assume it will be cheap. Some estimate that the military is underfunded, long term, by $100 billion a year. Procurement of a missile-defense system alone will cost several billion a year more. As Bush said at The Citadel, "This will require spending more—and spending more wisely." The administration is now attending to "more wisely," but soon—very soon—it will have to attend simply to "more."

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Wages of No

ARIEL SHARON has won personal election as Israeli prime minister, but in the snake pit of the country's politics he will have his work cut out to form a government. Like all his predecessors, he has to woo a whole range of small parties with which to build a governing coalition. A general election for the parliament seems probable. And yet this may be a moment for the reality enforcement that alone can break the Arab–Israeli deadlock.

To cut a deal means saying yes at a certain point. At Camp David and afterwards, down to the eve of the election, outgoing prime minister Ehud Barak offered concessions to the Palestinians so generous that Israelis were taken by surprise. Even so, they might well have said yes in the event of an equally generous response from the Palestinians. Instead, on behalf of his people, Yasser Arafat has said no. Evidently he believes that renewed violence will pay larger dividends. This exposed Barak as some sort of a sentimentalist, and Sharon enjoyed a historic electoral romp.

A famous legend comes from antiquity about the dangers of consistently saying no. A wise woman known as the Sibyl had nine invaluable books. The Roman Tarquinius refused the price she wanted for them, whereupon she began to destroy the books until he paid for three what had been asked originally for the nine. Moral: Miss your chance and you get less, at higher cost.

So it is with the Palestinians. For decades they have been saying no, all the time steadily diminishing their prospects. Although the majority hope for peace to the point of despairing of it, their leaders have let them down, invariably taking the Tarquinius position in bargaining. This has been a historic mistake. Each and every no, each war, each uprising, has shrunk what eventually remains for them. In this present round of violence, more than 400 Palestinians have died to no purpose at all, thousands more have been wounded, and many homes destroyed. This is already a society with flagrant corruption at the top and a general self-imposed poverty, no rule of law but judicial execution and random murder, with in addition an absolute divide between Islamists and secularists. One step more, and it will be anarchy.

Responsible for these conditions, Arafat either cannot or dare not say yes, and rescue his people from impending calamity. This is where Sharon comes in. Should he be able now or after parliamentary elections to establish a stable government, he may have the authority to draw a line between what is for Israel and what is for the Palestinians. It is far too late for the Palestinians to go back on their history and ask for repeated mistakes to be undone. But it is not too late for an Israeli prime minister to create conditions in which a Palestinian yes at last becomes a necessity. Tarquinius after all did see the wisdom of accepting one third of what he might have obtained at the beginning, when the final alternative was nothing at all.

CLINTON

Too Rich

THE furor over former President Clinton's pardon of fugitive financier Marc Rich spirals on. "This is a case of an abuse of authority that undermined justice" (*Los Angeles Times*). "This is a classic Clinton case" (*Washington Post*). "Congress cannot ignore this intersection of money, influence and constitutional abuse" (*New York Times*). "It was a real betrayal . . . it was contemptuous" (Rep. Barney Frank). ". . . terrible . . . inexcusable . . . outrageous" (Sen. Pat Leahy). "[Clinton] technically could still be impeached" (Sen. Arlen Specter).

What, exactly, is everybody's problem? Have the media and Congress been asleep for the last eight years? Clinton is a man who never met a lie he couldn't tell, or a skirt he wouldn't chase; who took an intern and who knows whom else in the Oval Office; who committed perjury and obstruction of justice, and may have waged acts of war to distract from his crimes. Why is anyone upset, or even surprised, that he pardoned a sleazy financier? The feds got Al Capone on tax evasion, but no one pretended that that was his worst deed; pardoning a tax evader is far from Bill Clinton's.

The pardon, of course, was a nasty little turd, one that would stink on the shoes of anyone else. Rich's handlers roped in testimonials from foreigners, many of them unaware of the use to which their words would be put (they thought of getting a bouquet from the widow of Yitzhak Rabin, before they realized that she was dead). Visions of an attorney generalship in a Gore administration danced over a conversation between Eric Holder, Clinton's deputy attorney general and aspirant AG, and Jack Quinn, Rich's lawyer and Gore pal. But the indispensable lubricant was money. Denise Rich, the fugitive's ex-wife, had not only given over a million dollars to the Clintons and other Democratic candidates, but ponied up half a million more for the Clinton presidential library, whose

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scholar in residence—Sean Wilentz? Sidney Blumenthal?—will, we trust, catalogue all these transactions.

Part of the reason the Rich pardon caused a ruckus is that Bill Clinton, in private life, has many fewer mechanisms of distraction—no press office, no photo-ops, no cruise missiles. His supporters, similarly, have no need to defend him against congressional Republicans. The main reason for the disgust, though, is the backed-up self-loathing of a political and intellectual class that swallowed so much. After Napoleon came to power, the French artist Ingres painted a portrait that forsook the classical iconography popular until then, for the imagery of Carolingian and Byzantine emperors; his Napoleon is a jewel-encrusted icon, like the late Elvis. Frenchmen hated the picture, no doubt because Ingres, with the acuity of genius, had shown them exactly what they had gotten.

Clinton should not be called to testify before Congress—please, keep this man offstage—nor should the power to pardon, an important check on the judiciary, be amended because of one bad president's abuse of it. Clinton, meanwhile, announced that he would no longer pursue luxurious office space in midtown Manhattan, but find digs in Harlem, reaching, as he has before, for the cleansing touchstone of racial politics. Vernon Jordan and Jesse Jackson could find him some capable assistants.

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Reid

A beautiful sequence from the December 2000 issue of *The New Criterion.*

Roger Kimball is writing about the influence of Plutarch and comes up with Plutarch's description of *Cleopatra:*

> [S]he disdained to set forward otherwise, but to take her barge in the river of Cydnus, the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, howboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon the barge. And now for the person of herself: she was laid under a pavilion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus commonly drawn in picture; and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth Cupid, with little fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind upon her.

But wait! Private Eye Kimball follows this with, fifteen hundred years later, Shakespeare's handling of Cleopatra:

> The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
> Burned on the water; the poop was beaten gold,
> Purple the sails, and so perfumed, that
> The winds were love-sick with them, the oars were silver
> Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke, and made
> The water which they beat to follow faster,
> As amorous of their stroke. For her own person,
> It beggared all description; she did lie
> In her pavilion—cloth-of-gold of tissue—
> O'er-picturing that Venus where we see
> The fancy outwork nature; on each side her
> Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
> With divers-coloured fans, whose wind did seem
> To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: When your wonderful brother Jim was in the U.S. Senate, you always referred to him as "the sainted junior senator from New York." How do you plan to refer to the new junior senator from New York? As "the unsainted junior senator from New York"?

Sincerely,
Geraldine Voelkel
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mrs. Voelkel: Oh, come on, let's give Hillary a . . . few months? Maybe she will do something saintly.

Let us pray.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: Here's a question, one that has stumped me for years:

In your book *The Unmaking of a Mayor,* you quote these lines: "O Geordie, jingling Geordie, it was grand to hear the Baby Charles laying down the guilt of dissimulation, and Steenie lecturing on the turpitude of incontinence!"

You used this quote in another book and attributed it to Scott, but I have never been able to track it down.

Can you recall the source? And are you certain that it's really Scott and not Dickens?

Best wishes,
Ronald J. Wieck
Kew Gardens, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Wieck: The source of the quotation is *The Fortunes of Nigel,* a novel by Sir Walter Scott, which was published in 1822.

You will find that it was used by John Henry Newman in his great answer to Charles Kingsley. See the original 1864 London edition of Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua.*

Cordially,

—WFB

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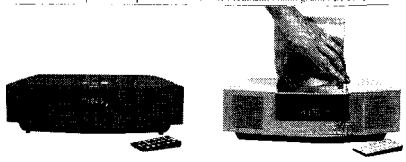

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■ COVER STORY ■

The Simplest 'Outreach'

Ask black Americans for their votes, for heaven's sake

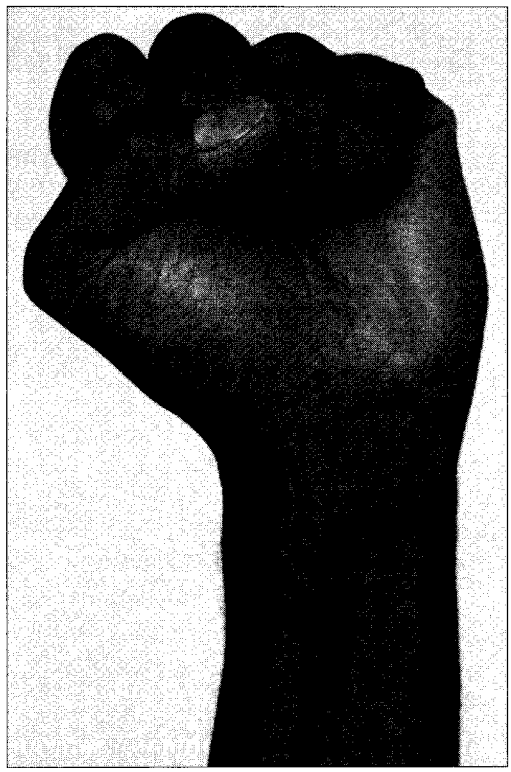
RAMESH PONNURU & RICHARD NADLER

"WHY do blacks hate us?" It's a question that has long perplexed conservatives and Republicans. They've been asking it with new intensity since November, when "compassionate conservatism" struck out with 91 percent of the black electorate. Increased black turnout helped Democrats gain Senate seats in Michigan, Washington, Florida, and Missouri.

Most Republicans recognize that they need to win more black votes. There has been no shortage of advice on how to do this. Republicans have been told to soft-pedal old issues, and to devise new ones. They have been counseled to push harder on school choice, to oppose immigration, to rethink the drug war. One Republican suggested that the party "co-opt" or even "buy" black leaders.

The multiplicity of suggestions is a sign that the party really has no idea what to do. The prevailing mood is one of resignation tinged with despair. Republicans feel they have done as much as they can, while remaining Republicans, to court blacks. They pointedly avoided campaigning against racial preferences. (Even in Florida, where they were an issue, the Republicans tried mightily to defuse it.) They found every black person they knew and put him onstage during the Republican convention. Since his election, President Bush has appointed blacks to powerful offices, met with left-wing black congressmen, and proposed welfare reforms that would direct millions of dollars to black churches. None of it seems to work.

Some Republicans are therefore tempted to surrender. Since blacks constitute only 10 percent of the electorate, they figure the party should find its votes elsewhere. But for the GOP to give up on blacks would be a mistake. For one thing, in many states blacks are a substantial and growing percentage of the electorate. In addition, blacks are among the few identifiable populations that contain more conservatives than Republicans. They should be no more out of reach for George W. Bush than blue-collar Democrats were for Ronald Reagan.



It would be a mistake, finally, because it is not in fact true that the Republicans have done everything they can to get black votes. They have neglected, for instance, to *ask* for them. Policy intellectuals are naturally tempted to devise programmatic responses to the party's problem with blacks: modify this position, accentuate that one. Pundits like to ponder big issues such as the effect of America's racial history on blacks' political psychology. But they're overlooking a simple, but big, part of the problem: Republicans aren't running ads that reach black voters.

Consider the case of Kansas City. We choose it not just because it's our hometown, but also because it was the second biggest market in the country for political ads in 2000—right behind St. Louis. Missouri was a swing state in the presidential race. It was also the site of hard-fought races for senator and governor. Two congressional seats were contested in the area, one on either side of the Kansas-Missouri state line. In the end, high turnout among blacks, who were 5 percent of the Missouri electorate in 1996 but 12 percent in 2000, yielded narrow Democratic victories for Bob Holden over Jim Talent (governor) and Jean Carnahan over John Ashcroft (senator).

The most popular black radio station in Kansas City is KPRS-FM, "Hot 103 Jamz." Here's a synopsis of the political ads that KPRS listeners heard during four hours of drive time on November 2, five days before the election:

- The notorious NAACP ad accusing George W. Bush of indifference to the brutal racial killing of James Byrd.
- An ad by the Missouri Democratic party in which the announcer says, "Under George W. Bush, 75 percent of juveniles are incarcerated in Texas, and 100 percent of the juveniles in adult prisons are minorities."
- Another ad by the Democrats implying that more low-birth-weight babies will be born and more old folks will go hungry paying for their medicine unless listeners vote Democratic.
- A union ad for Bob Holden, the Democratic candidate for governor, promising that he will vanquish the "forces of darkness arrayed against us that would turn back the clock on our community."
- A National Education Association ad lauding Kansas Democratic congressman Dennis Moore for supporting its agenda: smaller class sizes, school construction, universal preschool.

Mr. Ponnuru is an NR senior editor.
Mr. Nadler is editor of *K.C. Jones*, a midwestern political monthly.

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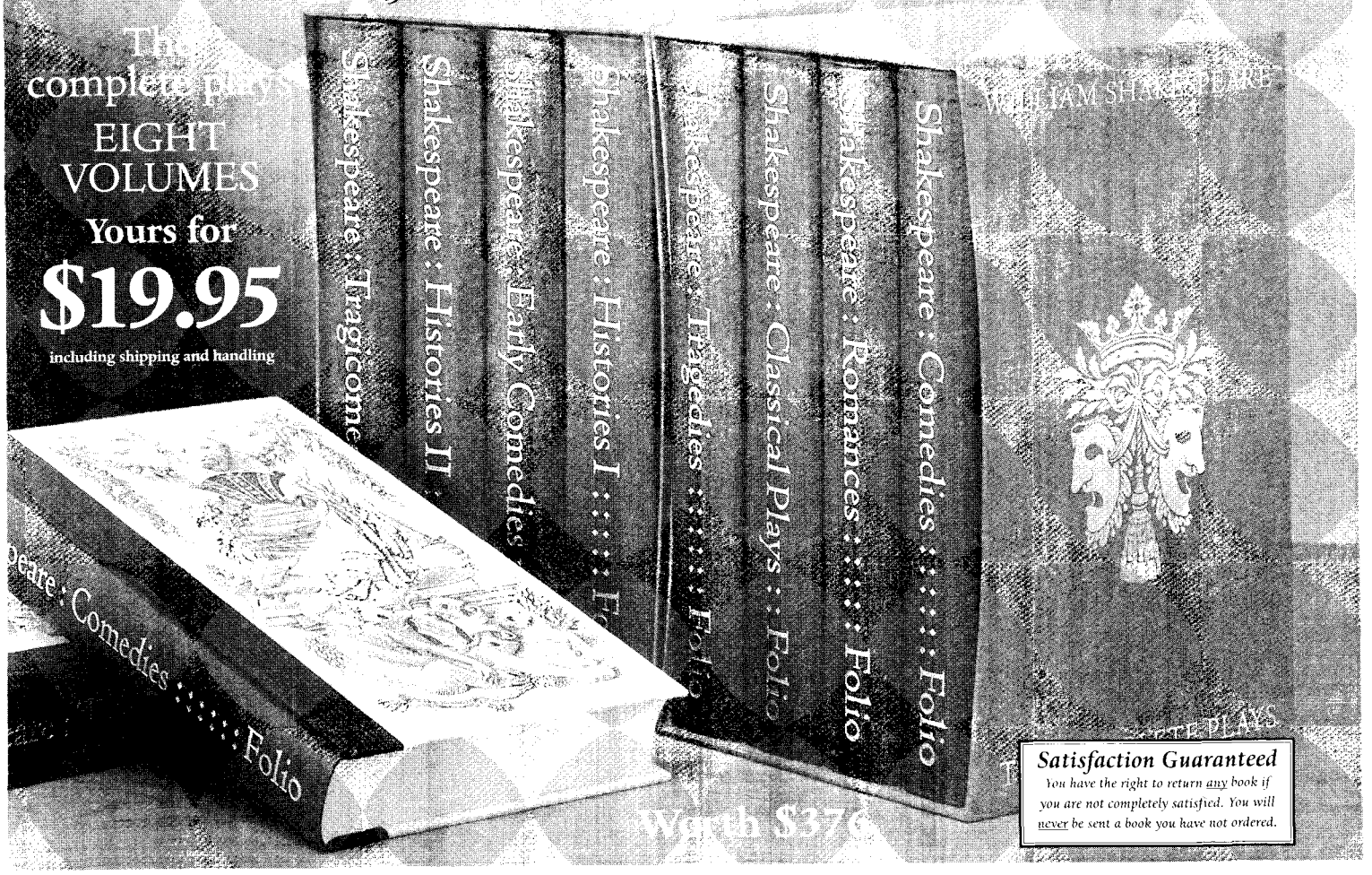

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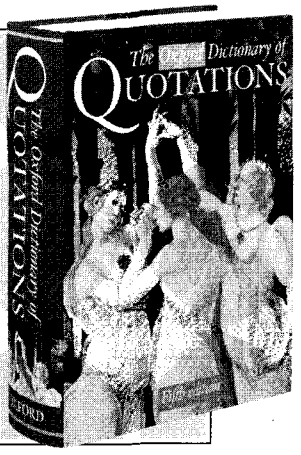

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• A Missouri Democratic-party ad that tags Republicans for the racial profiling of black students whose sole crime is "DWB—driving while black." (The ad is repeated minutes later.)
• An ad from a feminist PAC about Jean Carnahan ("when women vote, women win").
• Another union ad, this one featuring a pastor who says that Holden's opponent, Talent, "doesn't represent our values" because he "voted with John Ashcroft against our kids to slash federal education funds, cut student loans, against affirmative action, and to repeal the ban on semi-automatic assault weapons."
• The NEA ad for Dennis Moore again.
• A Bob Holden campaign ad.
• The racial-profiling ad, again.
• The ad about Holden fighting the "forces of darkness," again.
• The profiling ad, a fourth time.
• The pastor attacking Jim Talent, again.
• The profiling ad for the fifth time.
• The ad on Holden and the "forces of darkness."
• And the anti-Talent ad featuring the pastor for the third time.

Interspersed with these ads were public-service announcements urging listeners to vote, news stories, and commentary by the DJs, all having the effect of reinforcing the imperative to vote Democratic.

Were there any Republican ads to offset this onslaught during this period? Yes. Two of them, each aired once. One was by the Republican National Committee, another by the Republican Ideas Political Committee (Richard Nadler, president). The pro-Democratic ads aired 18 times.

During and after the election, Republicans have faulted the NAACP and other "civil rights" groups for employing race-baiting tactics to mobilize black voters against them. But it is foolhardy to expect these groups to be moved by guilt over a strategy that works so brilliantly. Republicans should expect more of the same in 2002. Besides, Jesse Jackson and Kweisi Mfume were not principally responsible for the ad barrage. Even the race-baiting ads were more often produced by regular committees of the Democratic party or by labor unions than by the black-activist groups.

Moreover, ads dependent on lies and race-baiting were not the Democrats' whole campaign, or even most of it. Such tactics may have given the campaign its character, but ordinary politics supplied its content. The NEA went into black neighborhoods with its standard spiel. So did women's groups, and white Democratic candidates. Dennis Moore and Bob Holden were there, day after day, making their points and selling their programs.

■

Republicans who debate whether to adopt 'new issues' to attract blacks are missing the point.

■

Republicans were there, too, in a way: executing blacks, hassling them, denying their children education, chaining them to pick-up trucks and dragging them to their deaths. That Republicans favor tax cuts, school choice, and respect for unborn life would not occur to someone whose primary source of political information was what he heard on the radio going to and from work. If KPRS was your station, you "knew" that 75 percent of juveniles in Texas were incarcerated as well as you knew Mystikal's hit song, "Shake It Fast." It requires no special understanding of blacks' psychology or historical experience to predict the reaction of ordinary people to so much unanswered propaganda.

Republicans who debate whether to adopt "new issues" to attract blacks are missing the point: At present, they have *no* issues in black America. Hence blacks trust Democrats more than Republicans not only on standard Democratic issues such as health care and Social Security, but even on Republicans' traditional issues. In a poll last year, the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies asked "which of the two political parties has the better approach" on various issues. Blacks preferred Democrats to Republicans on national security by 58-to-21 percent; on "keeping unemployment low" by 78-to-8 percent; and on cutting taxes by 64-to-15 percent.

Why aren't Republicans doing better? In the past, they neglected black areas deliberately, for tactical reasons. They understood that blacks were not as liberal as they were Democratic, and that there are black conservatives who oppose abortion, gun control, and high taxes, just like their white counterparts. But they calculated that a campaign to increase the Republican share of the black vote would backfire if it also increased black turnout. That strategy, whatever its morality, made pragmatic sense when black turnout was low. But it cannot work when black turnout is high. Democrats have been able to stimulate record black turnout in selected media markets. They have done so both by hyping imaginary racial crises and by blaming Republicans for real problems.

Under the present circumstances, Republicans must identify and turn out their potential vote in the urban core, just as they do in the white suburbs. And not just Republicans must do this. Every element of the Democratic coalition participates in the wooing of black America; but almost all elements of the conservative coalition avoid it. That must change.

Black "outreach" by the Right has been a pathetic affair. White conservatives love funding their black counterparts, who tour the country regaling white audiences. But most black voters don't watch C-SPAN coverage of NAACP conventions, let alone the banquets of conservative think tanks. Conservatives fantasize about creating a new black leadership. But no such leadership can emerge until the party can give it power in black America, and it cannot do that until it has partisans there. Lacking them, conservatives have attracted a motley crew of black intellectuals, apolitical businessmen, and courageous mavericks—but not votes.

If Republicans are going to fight for black allegiance, they must do so where black voters live. They need to run ad campaigns about school choice, taxes, Social Security, abortion, crime. They should run them on the gospel stations of black churches, on Black Entertainment Television—and on Hot 103 Jamz. **NR**

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■ COVER STORY II ■

Hail, New Columbia?

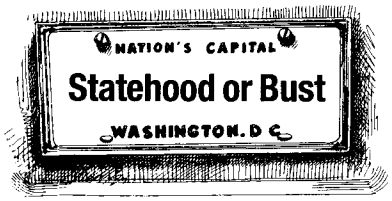
D.C. statehood, again

JOHN J. MILLER

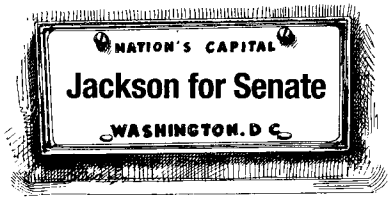
FEW people outside the Beltway noticed it, but the District of Columbia went out of the red and into the black in January. Just five years ago, the D.C. government ran a deficit of more than a half-billion dollars and its bonds were rated junk. Congress created a federal control board to oversee the city, which seemed chronically unable to manage itself. Record keeping was so lousy that nobody knew exactly how much money the city took in, or how it was spent. Schools were shut down for fire-code violations. And then there was Mayor Marion Barry, a national joke.

The debate over statehood for D.C. went into hibernation. Nobody wanted to promote the idea while Barry was mayor and a control board essentially ran the local government. But now these obstacles are gone: Barry has been replaced by Anthony Williams, a pleasant-seeming man who wears bow ties and radiates competence; the control board effectively quit its role on February 7. The city is on the rebound, with surging tax receipts, a budget surplus, and a vibrant downtown. It's only a matter of time before statehood returns as a front-burner issue. In fact, the Democrats have a huge incentive to put it there right now, at this moment of heightened interest in voting rights and black disfranchisement, plus razor-thin margins in Congress. And they may be much closer to achieving D.C. statehood—or something akin to it—than is commonly believed.

The effort to win statehood for D.C. never ceased outright. In October, the Supreme Court affirmed a lower-court ruling against congressional representation for the city. In December, D.C. elector Barbara Lett-Simmons submitted a blank ballot when the Electoral College met, in protest of her city's lack of representation in Congress. On January 15, President Clinton entered the fray. "I believe that you should still have your votes in Congress and the Senate," he said to local leaders. "I think that, maybe even more important, you should have the rights and powers and responsibilities that statehood carries." Clinton, of course, did nothing as president to advance this cause—besides affixing the new D.C. license plate, featuring the statehood motto "Taxation Without Representation," to his presidential limousine in December. (President Bush removed it right after his inauguration.) It was all about symbolism; but Clinton's behavior may foreshadow a major Democratic campaign for D.C. statehood.

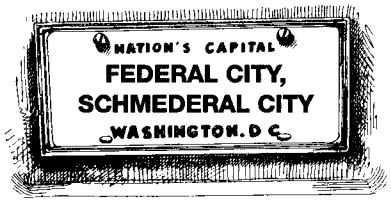


The case for statehood can be fairly compelling. The city's population is larger than that of Wyoming, and almost as large as those of Alaska, South Dakota, and Vermont. Residents are U.S. citizens: They pay taxes and fight wars for their country. The District is already treated like a state for hundreds of purposes, with the federal government and individual states recognizing its birth certificates and marriage licenses. It even has a flag, and a name ready in case statehood does come: New Columbia. Thanks to the Twenty-third Amendment, D.C. voters are allowed to participate in presidential elections, with three electoral votes. A national poll last year found 72 percent support for granting D.C. full representation in Congress. That's why the statehood debate carries so much appeal for many Democrats, who also rarely fail to notice that the city is about two-thirds black. Republican politicians are scarce, and there's no doubt the District would quickly send three liberals to Congress. (When the city created the office of "shadow senator" in 1990, voters elected Jesse Jackson.)



In 1993, Democrats gave House delegates—elected from the District and four U.S. territories—the right to vote on most floor activity. When the Republicans gained control two years later, they rescinded this rule. On February 13 of this year, D.C. Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton introduced a bill to bring it back; at least two Republicans, Reps. Tom Davis of Virginia and Connie Morella of Maryland, are supporters.

But there's a good reason the District doesn't already have full representation: The Constitution created a federal district "not exceeding ten miles square" that would be part of no state, and the Constitution makes clear that only states can elect members of Congress. D.C. was carved out of Maryland and Virginia, and supporters of D.C. voting rights like to point out that until 1800 residents of the District actually voted in those two states—though they usually fail to mention that this practice stopped when D.C. became the seat of government.



It is sometimes argued that only a constitutional amendment could grant statehood to the District, but this is far from certain. The District could shrink to a core area of federal buildings, and the rest would become New Columbia—admitted to the Union just like any other territory. Statehood may be achieved by statute or joint resolution in Congress.

From a political standpoint, that would be bad news for Republicans. In the short term, it would give the Democrats control of the Senate, and make the lousy outlook for the 2002 elections even lousier. In the long term, statehood would provide extra muscle to the big-government caucus, because the District is home to just one industry: the federal behemoth.

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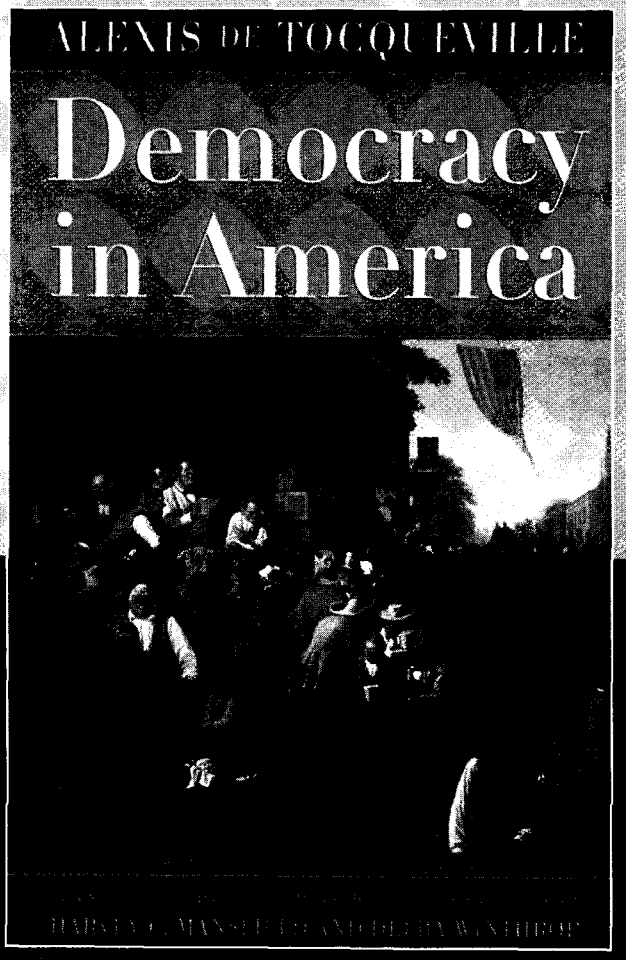

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But there is a solution. In 1846, D.C. residents living on the Virginia side of the Potomac prevailed on Congress to return their portion of the District to Virginia, in a process known as retrocession. This offers an historical model for reconfiguring D.C., and it's constitutional. Just as Congress in the past ceded a portion of the District to Virginia, it could now do the same for Maryland: D.C. could simply join the state that surrounds it on three sides. It would become the city of Washington, Md. This would prevent statehood, while satisfying D.C. residents who seek a voice in Congress. The downside, from a GOP perspective, is that Maryland would probably gain an extra seat in the House, and it would go to the Democrats.

As a practical matter, Maryland would have to agree to absorb the District, and there's every reason to believe it would resist this: Even Maryland Democrats would see it as a destabilizing threat to existing power structures.

But it's a result conservatives may have to insist on, if the calls for statehood become heated enough. Ignoring them may no longer be an option. The Democratic platform already calls for D.C. statehood, and Democrats have everything to gain by raising the issue: It makes them, once again, the champions of black enfranchisement. Statehood advocates say over and over that they're talking about "taxation without representation"—ringing words in the American conscience—and Democrats won't hesitate to remind us it's taxation of *African-Americans* without representation.

In demanding retrocession into Maryland, conservatives would pursue the only permanent solution that is fair to both their self-interest and the desires of D.C. residents seeking a greater political voice. This strategy would put the onus on Democrats in Maryland—such as Lt. Gov. Kathleen Kennedy Townsend—to explain why retrocession is not an acceptable answer.

Race-baiting is now a key tactic for Democrats. D.C. statehood will play into their hands—unless conservatives are ready to repel the coming charge. **NR**

■ POLITICS ■

The Governors List

What "too much" success has done

STEPHEN MOORE

GEORGE W. BUSH has made it clear that he intends to rely heavily on the 29 Republican governors as a farm team for talent and policy advice. New Jersey's Christine Whitman and Wisconsin's Tommy Thompson are in the cabinet; Virginia's Jim Gilmore is heading the Republican National Committee; John Engler of Michigan, Tom Ridge of Pennsylvania, and, of course, Brother Jeb of Florida are among Bush's closest confidants.

After a White House meeting between Bush and a handful of Republican governors, Idaho's Dirk Kempthorne announced that "Bush's agenda is our agenda." They want Bush to devolve power to the states, and Bush seems happy to oblige.

Throughout the 1990s, Republicans dominated America's governorships. Roughly 61 percent of Americans live in states with a Republican governor, and these governors have been trailblazers on policy issues ranging from welfare reform and school choice to tort reform and the environment. Bush is also attracted to the governors for political reasons: Their state electoral machines were crucial to his victory in 2000.

Stylistically, too, most of the governors are a good fit for Bush's low-key, nonideological demeanor. Unlike the GOP congressional leaders, whose rough-edged partisanship makes Bush visibly squeamish, the governors are more naturally aligned with "compassionate conservatism." For years, political analysts and reporters—along with liberal-leaning country-club Republicans—have been applauding the governors for a shrewd governing philosophy that combines cultural moderation and fiscal conservatism.

Mr. Moore is a contributing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW and a senior fellow at the Cato Institute.

But here's the problem: State-government expenditures are booming, and much of the spending spree is occurring in states with Republicans at the helm. The *New York Times* recently reported that at least half of the states are now experiencing a "fiscal emergency," and *Governing* magazine has declared that Republican governors have "rediscovered the joy of spending." In ten states last year, budgets rose by 10 percent or more; four of those states—Rhode Island, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming—have Republican governors. Nationwide, only about one of every seven dollars of state surpluses last year was sent back to workers through tax cuts or rebates.

What's going on here? Just seven years ago, New Jersey's Christie Whitman became a national supply-side heroine by riding her 30 percent income-tax-cut proposal to an improbable victory over an incumbent governor. The political and economic success of "Whitmanomics" touched off a nationwide tax-cutting spree. A new crop of influential and charismatic GOP governors—John Rowland of Connecticut, George Pataki of New York, Frank Keating of Oklahoma—joined Whitman, Tommy Thompson, and John Engler in this crusade.

And the tax cuts worked: They were a passport to prosperity and reelection. The states that cut taxes most had about twice the job growth of—and about 40 percent more income growth than—states that didn't cut taxes. Richard Vedder of Ohio University calculates that in the 1990s, about 1,000 Americans every day left high-tax states for low-tax states. (In the time it takes you to read this article, seven more New York and Massachusetts families will have joined the contemporary gold rush for low-tax havens like Arizona, Florida, and Texas.) Meanwhile, tax-cutting Republican governors have been getting reelected by sizable margins for the past several election cycles.

But now many Republican governors are starting to question their party's anti-tax philosophy. Cigarette-, gas-, and sales-tax rates are inching up again to fund pet spending projects. George Ryan of Illinois and Bob Taft of Ohio were

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However, when she went to publish these results so that everyone could benefit—**she was blocked by manufacturers with heavy financial stakes!** For over 10 years now her methods have proved effective—yet she is denied publication—blocked by the giants who don't want you to read her words.

What's more, the world is full of expert minds like Dr. Budwig who have pursued cancer remedies and come up with remarkable natural formulas and diets that work for hundreds and thousands of patients. *How to Fight Cancer and Win* author William Fischer has studied these methods and revealed their secrets for you—so that you or someone you love may be spared the horrors of conventional cancer treatments.

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"We purchased *How to Fight Cancer and Win*, and immediately my husband started following the recommended diet for his just diagnosed colon cancer. He refused the surgery that our doctors advised. Since following the regime recommended in the book he has had no problems at all, cancer-wise. If not cured, we believe the cancer has to be in remission."

—Thelma B.

"I bought *How to Fight Cancer and Win* and this has to be the greatest book I've ever read. I have had astounding results from the easy to understand knowledge found in this book. My whole life has improved drastically and I have done so much for many others. The information goes far beyond the health thinking of today."

—Hugh M.

"I can't find adequate words to describe my appreciation of your work in providing *How to Fight Cancer and Win*. You had to do an enormous amount of research to bring this vast and most important knowledge to your readers.

My doctor found two tumors on my prostate with a high P.S.A. He scheduled a time to surgically remove the prostate, but I canceled the appointment. Instead I went on the diet discussed in the book combined with another supplement. Over the months my P.S.A. has lowered until the last reading was one point two."

—Duncan M.

"In my 55 years as a Country Family Physician, I have never read a more 'down to earth,' practical resume of cancer prevention and treatments, than in this book. It needs to be studied worldwide for the prevention of cancer by all researchers who are looking for a cure."

—Edward S., MD

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—Romany S.

"I've been incorporating Dr. Budgwig's natural remedy into my diet and have told others about it. Your book is very informative and has information I've never heard about before (and I've read many books on the cancer and nutrition link). Thanks for the wonderful information."

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elected in 1998, and both wasted no time in bullying through major tax hikes to pay for infrastructure spending. Jane Hull raised the Arizona sales tax to pay for school class-size reductions. Mike Leavitt of Utah has reaped the ire of conservative activists for supporting a tax on the Internet to pay for new spending. After Louisiana's Mike Foster extended a state sales tax on food, he publicly lashed out at his supply-side critics: "Some people in my party see tax cuts as the Holy Grail. It's not." (Unsurprisingly, Louisiana's economic performance over the past five years has lagged severely behind that of the rest of the country.)

Many governors have cast aside the economically productive rate cuts of the early 1990s in favor of such gimmicky tax-relief measures as tax rebates (in Connecticut, Colorado, Minnesota, Mississippi, and Wisconsin) and sales-tax holidays (in Florida, New York, and Oklahoma). In Texas, Bush himself put new meaning into the term "targeted tax cuts" by pushing for a sales-tax exemption for diapers.

This decline of tax-cutting fervor is surprising, because there's no indication that state income-tax cuts have lost their political luster. Even in Massachusetts, nearly 60 percent of the voters approved a measure—endorsed by Republican governor Paul Cellucci—to cut the income-tax rate from 5.85 percent to 5 percent. If tax cuts still play in Boston, they certainly should in Peoria.

■

For every Reaganite antitax crusader, there's at least one governor who boasts about increased spending.

■

The ranks of Republican governors still contain a number of fiscal superstars. Among those elected in 1998 are Florida's Bush and Nevada's Kenny Guinn, who have cut property taxes; Cellucci of Massachusetts, who took on the entire state establishment to win his ballot fight for tax cuts; and Colorado's Bill Owens and New Mexico's Gary Johnson, who have chopped income-tax rates. Johnson has been unrelenting: He has fought for tax cuts for six years, against a liberal legislature opposed to almost any loss of revenue.

But for every Reaganite antitax crusader like Gary Johnson, there's at least one Rockefeller Republican governor who boasts about increased spending. The national economic expansion from 1995 to 2000 has generated a tax-collection bonanza, and Democratic and Republican governors alike have tapped the windfall to fatten state budgets. In 1998 state spending rose by 6.8 percent, in 1999 by 8.2 percent, and in 2000 by 6.9 percent. That's over a period with almost nonexistent inflation; it's also twice the rate of federal spending over the same period.

Virginia is typical: For the first time in decades, the Republicans control both the legislature and the governorship, but the state budget soared by 10.6 percent last year. Now, as the economy slows and the fear of deficits reemerges, Republicans in the legislature want to scuttle the last step of Gov. Jim Gilmore's famous repeal of the car tax; they would rather destroy Gilmore's legacy than try to rein in the spending stampede. (Gilmore, laudably, has refused to cave, vowing to fight on for his car-tax repeal.)

The shenanigans in Tennessee are even more disheartening: Don Sundquist ran for governor in 1994 promising "no new taxes," only to flip-flop inexplicably two years ago—endorsing a first-ever income tax for Tennessee to close the $382 million budget shortfall created by Sundquist's own spending excesses. The costs of the tax-guzzling Tenn-Care health plan are rising at roughly twice the rate of Medicaid in all other states. Republican legislators have foiled Sundquist's plot to create an income tax, but he's expected to try again in 2001.

If Sundquist isn't the most fiscally reckless politician in America today, he's clearly in the top three. In New York, George Pataki—whose supply-side tax policies in the mid 1990s helped cure the state of its debt hangover from a decade of Cuomoism—infuriated conservatives by signing a 55-cent hike in the cigarette tax in 1999 to fund a multibillion-dollar health-care program "for children." He wants to expand the program again this year, even as the state's budget outlook has turned decidedly gloomy. It's gotten so bad in Albany that a *New York Times* editorial has gushed with praise for "Governor Pataki's Lean to the Left." Back in 1995, Pataki was a different governor, remarking in a speech at the Heritage Foundation that "in New York, government has become the uninvited dinner guest who arrives too early, eats too much, and stays too long." The more he "grows" in office, the bigger the margins of victory for people like Hillary Clinton.

And in Connecticut, John Rowland's 1998–99 budget was so larded with extra spending that it violated the state's constitutional spending cap and could be approved only by invoking the "Declaration of Extraordinary Circumstances" loophole. Political scientist Alan Ehrenhalt recently quipped: "Some fiend has kidnapped the conservative governor and installed a Hubert Humphrey liberal look-alike in his place."

Alas, that could be said of up to a dozen Republican governors these days: They're drifting to the left to appease voters who didn't vote for them—and who never will. Meanwhile, conservative voters in states like Arizona, Illinois, Ohio, Tennessee, Utah, and New York are starting to seethe over the betrayal. When dealing with the governors, President Bush needs to take great care to make his agenda theirs—not the other way around. **NR**

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■ FOREIGN POLICY ■

A Faraway Country . . .

. . . about which we know a lot

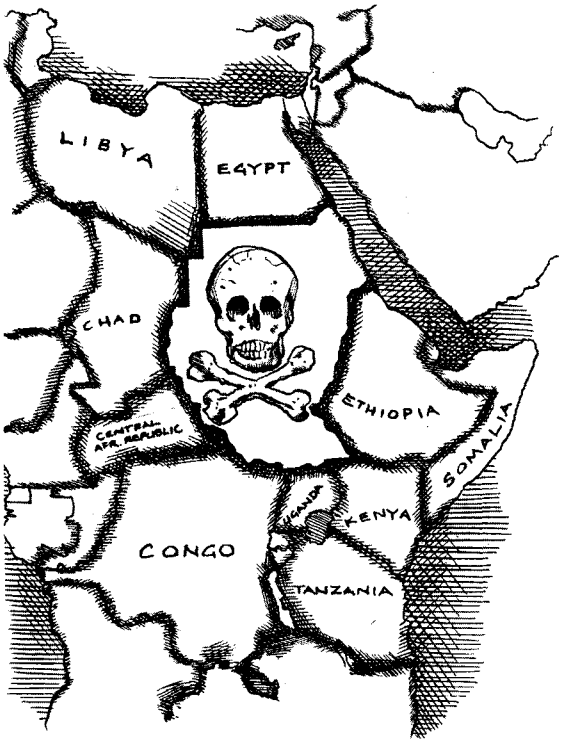
KATE O'BEIRNE

'WHY do so many Americans care about saving seals and whales but not us?" a desperate woman asked Congressman Frank Wolf during his recent trip to the town of Yei in southern Sudan. Wolf—a Virginia Republican who co-chairs the Congressional Human Rights Caucus—recently returned from his fourth visit to Sudan, and is at a loss to explain the relative lack of concern in the U.S. about the brutal genocidal war against Christians in Africa's largest country.

More people have died in this conflict than in Kosovo, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Somalia combined. The Clinton administration itself acknowledged that the crisis in Sudan simmered on its foreign-policy back burner. But with a new administration in Washington—and reinforcements in the ranks of activists determined to end the aerial bombing, starvation, and enslavement of non-Muslims in Sudan—the radical Islamic regime in Khartoum might finally begin feeling the heat.

The scale of the human suffering during this 17-year civil war is truly staggering: Two million people have died, and twice that number have been driven from their homes in a systematic campaign by the Sudanese government to annihilate or forcibly convert Christians and practitioners of traditional African religions in the southern and central parts of the country. The U.S. has sent a billion dollars in aid to Sudan in the past ten years, but much of this assistance has been channeled through the U.N., which permits the Sudanese government to control its distribution; those forcibly removed from their homes to "peace camps" survive under the government's practice of "convert and eat." The regime has caused massive starvation in the south by banning international humanitarian-aid flights, and regularly bombs relief facilities, hospitals, and Catholic schools and churches.

The State Department has documented that the government of Sudan is engaged in chattel slavery, in which tens of thousands of women and children have been abducted, raped, and taken north to serve as concubines and laborers. In 1993, the government secured a religious edict that declared all those who oppose the regime "apostates"—thereby granting license for government troops to persecute not just Christians, but also Muslim political opponents.



By David Smith

Strangely, the voices raised in support of sending U.S. troops to Haiti and engaging militarily to protect the Muslim minority in Kosovo have been largely silent about the need for U.S. diplomatic and economic pressure to save lives in Sudan. Washington regards Sudan as a sponsor of terrorism; it thus backs U.N. sanctions against the regime and recently blocked its bid for membership in the Security Council. But because the emphasis has been on fighting terrorism, little attention has been paid to Khartoum's gross human-rights abuses. Last fall, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom reported that it was "struck by the huge disparity between the genocidal scale of atrocities being committed by the government of Sudan and the muted response of the President and Secretary of State."

Former secretary of state Madeleine Albright made the reluctant assessment that, as she said, "the human-rights situation in Sudan is not marketable to the American people." In contrast to Albright, Michael Horowitz of the Hudson Institute, who has been aggressively engaged in trying to rally an appropriate American response to the atrocities in Sudan, has little trouble labeling the situation. "Sudan is the Hitler regime of our time," he says flatly.

Horowitz readily explains why the genocide in Sudan has failed to awaken consciences in proportion to the enormous suffering taking place. "In Sudan, you have a politically incorrect line-up," he explains. "In Bosnia, the bad guys were Christians and the victims Muslims—so bombs away. The situation in Sudan raises fears of being called a Muslim-basher, so instead of being called a terrible thing, it's called 'complicated.'"

Since 1999, Khartoum's brutal war on the south has been fueled by new oil production. Since it began exporting oil, in partnership with Chinese and Canadian companies, it has doubled its spending on weapons and increased its attacks on the south. Nina Shea of Freedom House warns that there is a new urgency to persuading Khartoum to stop its genocidal campaign—because oil profits now enable the government to win its war on religious minorities. "If [the war] isn't stopped this year, the south will be lost. The population will have been Islamicized or driven out," she explains.

The sense of urgency offers new hope. Although Jesse Jackson has turned a blind eye to the suffering of millions of black Christians in Sudan, other black leaders haven't been as indifferent. Early in February, the NAACP announced its intention to make relief for persecuted religious minorities in Sudan a top prior-

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What's Wrong with Day Care?

Day Care has Unknown Effects

There have been no studies of the effect of day care on adult character.

Studies of the Israeli kibbutz and of the changing American character suggest that day care may produce adults who have little inner life, little capacity for intimacy, and no commitment to ideas or ideals.

Universal preschool would cause unknown changes in the character of an entire generation. **We should support a diversity of child-raising methods**.

Day Care Funding is Unfair

Federal and State tax laws support people who pay for day care. They give nothing to people who work shorter hours so they can care for their own children.

Wealthy two-income families get a federal tax credit to help pay for day care, and they can shelter $5,000 in income from taxes. **But if a family sacrifices half its income to care for its own children, it gets no tax benefit.**

Half of the day care tax credit goes to the wealthiest 30% of families. Only 3% goes to the poorest 30%.

Day Care is a Byproduct of the Consumer Economy

A half-century ago, the typical family was supported by a man working a forty-hour week. When women entered the workforce, we could have shortened work hours, so both men and women could work and have time for their families. Instead, we stimulated the economy to create more jobs, so **the typical family today works an eighty-hour week.**

What would Americans of the 1920s have thought if they heard that, after all our economic progress, a typical family today can afford two cars – but it cannot afford to cut back on work to care for its own preschool children?

We Need Fair Funding and More Funding for Child Care

In America today, work schedules have absolute priority over family schedules. The following policies would let parents balance work and family:

- **Fair Funding:** The child care tax credit should go to all low and middle income families with pre-school children – not just to those who use day care
- **More Funding:** The child care tax credit is not high enough to help people who need day care or to help people who want to work shorter hours and care for their own children. It should be increased.
- **Choice of Work Hours:** There should be incentives for businesses to let parents work part-time, with equivalent pay and benefits.

These policies would give parents the option of down-shifting economically. Surveys show that 65% to 80% of Americans would choose to consume less, work less, and have more time for their children.

Restore the Balance between the Economy and the Family

You can help. You can go to our world wide web site at **www.restorethebalance.com** to:

- Get more information about our campaign to restore the balance between the economy and the family.
- Send an e-mail form letter to President Bush backing fair funding and more funding for child care.
- **Buy the new book *What's Wrong With Day Care*** by Charles Siegel, foreword by Christopher Lasch, Teachers College Press.

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ity, and the Congressional Black Caucus has recently labeled the international community's silence a "travesty." Congressman Wolf is "very optimistic" that President Bush will become personally involved, as President Clinton never did.

Michael Horowitz agrees that there is a good chance that this year, the Khartoum regime will become a pariah state, in much the same way the apartheid regime in South Africa did. The American Catholic hierarchy and the evangelical community alike are urging strong action. Government forces bombed the hospital in southern Sudan run by Franklin Graham—Rev. Billy Graham's son—seven times last year. The Holocaust Museum's Committee of Conscience has opened a formal Sudan exhibit, and made Sudan the first country to be placed on its "genocide watch." Veterans of Reagan's foreign-policy team have joined key religious leaders in urging forceful diplomatic and economic action against Khartoum.

On Capitol Hill, members who have strongly condemned the Khartoum regime are well positioned to change the current ineffectual policy on Sudan. Frank Wolf now chairs the House appropriations subcommittee responsible for the State Department's budget, and Henry Hyde chairs the House International Relations Committee. Sen. Bill Frist, a Tennessee Republican who has volunteered his services as a doctor in Sudanese hospitals, is cosponsor (with Sens. Feingold, Brownback, and Lieberman) of the Sudan Peace Act and was the Bush campaign's liaison to the Senate.

Over 30 groups were represented at a recent meeting in Wolf's office, where a plan of action was developed. The groups will ask President Bush to make sure that the Sudanese government no longer controls distribution of U.S. aid, to restrict access to U.S. capital markets on the part of companies subsidizing the Khartoum regime, and to appoint a high-profile special envoy to Sudan.

The world remains haunted by the Holocaust and the killing fields in Cambodia. The slaughter and enslavement of Christians in Sudan, on a genocidal scale, presents an opportunity to stop an ongoing tragedy. How can President Bush not be moved to act? **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Push-Pull

The way the culture war works, unendingly

STANLEY KURTZ

POLITICAL correctness often succeeds by creating the illusion that no other points of view exist. Go to a bookstore, for example, in a tony liberal neighborhood, and you will see that books by, say, Rush Limbaugh and Bill O'Reilly are not displayed prominently (as would befit their bestseller status), but filed away on the shelves. When is a bestseller not a bestseller? When it contains views the P.C. crowd would like to wish away.

The ultimate expression of this desire to erase the other side may be the oft-heard claim that the culture war is over, and that conservatives lost. After the Republican love-fest in Philadelphia, with Pat Buchanan gone and social conservatism invisible, the culture war was supposed to be finished. But ever since the appearance of that blue-red map of the Gore and Bush nations, the persistence of our social divide has become inescapable. Indeed, President Bush's understanding of the indispensable role of social conservatives in his coalition is what led to the current culture clash over John Ashcroft.

So the culture war didn't disappear after all. The talk about a permanent conservative defeat does signal a significant social change; but what has changed is only that moral assumptions formerly taken for granted have now been put on the table for discussion. *They are being discussed, but have not been finally decided.* Conservatives can no longer expect majority agreement with their cultural views, but the Left has a problem too: Its cultural program is too utopian to shape a stable, coherent society. That means we're in for a long-term cultural battle in which neither side gains total victory.

Mr. Kurtz is a fellow at the Hudson Institute.

Once the hippies and antiwar activists began their long march through the institutions, war was inevitable. By 1996, talk of conservative defeat had begun. The Left chafed at the Republican Congress and Clintonian triangulation in politics, but consoled itself with a declaration of victory in the culture: The academy and the media were now firmly in its grip. Gay Day at Disney World, the failure of William Bennett to make a dent in Hollywood, and the tepid public reaction to Madonna's out-of-wedlock child—all were taken as signs that the Right had finally lost the cultural battle. But the crucial moment for conservatives came in early 1999, with President Clinton's acquittal in the Senate. Clinton's victory led conservative activist Paul Weyrich to declare, "I no longer believe that there is a moral majority." Weyrich warned of "a cultural collapse of historic proportions, a collapse so great that it simply overwhelms politics."

■

We're in for a long-term cultural battle in which neither side gains total victory.

■

Jubilant liberals seized on Weyrich's concession as proof of conservative surrender; but both sides were confusing the collapse of an unequivocally traditional majority with the end of the culture war. Yes, social conservatives have suffered a serious setback: Anything approaching unanimity on cultural questions no longer exists. But the weakness of the Left's alternative makes its own ultimate victory unlikely. In the late Sixties and early Seventies, all the utopian experiments fell apart owing to their own incoherence. Sexual liberation ran aground on the shoals of jealousy, male/female difference, and the needs of children. Communal sharing and collective identity were irreconcilable with individual liberty. Group solidarities splintered indefinitely into subgroups, and this led to paralysis. Turning the personal into the political made for intrusive tyranny.

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"The pope is driven by his foreboding that the world is heading toward a moral apocalypse."—*Newsweek*

Pope John Paul's preoccupation will come as no surprise to readers of Fr. Vincent Miceli's timeless book, now in its second decade of life. Fr. Miceli keynotes his investigation of the last days with this from the Holy Father:

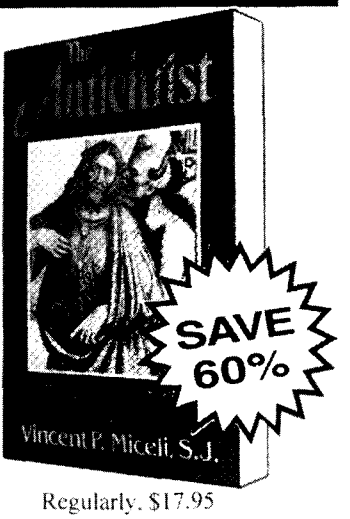
"We are now facing the final confrontation between the Church and the anti-Church."

Fr. Miceli doesn't pretend to know who the Antichrist is, where he'll appear, or when. But he does line up the signs of the times — linking these signs with the prophecies in Daniel, the New Testament, the early Church Fathers — and prophetic modern voices like Newman, Solzhenitsyn, Pius XII. Some of his insights are jolting:

- Six key features of the modern world that correspond alarmingly with apocalyptic prophecy
- Three stages in the evolution of evil as it prepares man to receive and worship Antichrist. How far have we proceeded?
- The Antichrist and the New Christianity. Five marks of the latter, all dissected
- One reliable sign of the Antichrist. Five things we know about him. Will he be different from Satan? One man or many? For answers, Fr. Miceli turns to Scripture and the early Fathers
- How Western — especially American — society's war against religion in public life corresponds to key apocalyptic prophecies
- Abortion: the assault on life by the forerunners of the Antichrist
- Common misconceptions about the Antichrist spread by televangelists and popular books
- To whom does God give the gift of prophecy? How should we look upon modern-day evangelists who claim the gift? Rules for recognizing false prophets
- The Antichrist's precursors: how to identify them
- 10 features of Antichrist's religion, according to Church Fathers. Where will he rise? How he will persecute the Church
- The role of Islam and the Jews in the end times

Fr. Miceli avoids the extravagant speculation that mars many popular books on apocalyptic themes, including some Catholic ones. Which may explain this enthusiastic note from the theologian of the Papal Household, Cardinal L. Ciappi: "The theme is so appropriate ... may it have a large and influential reception."

"In the everlasting Holy War against the Devil, *The Antichrist* is a masterly textbook." —Malcolm Muggeridge



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- The painful hemorrhaging phenomenon which corresponds to Jesus' sweating "drops of blood"
- Evidence that Christ received more than the customary number of blows during the scourging
- The "flagrum" used for scourging
- Did Christ simply drag the Cross to Calvary, as is typically depicted? Evidence suggests otherwise
- Countless medically accurate details on the Shroud that no medieval artist could have forged, or even known about
- Were Christ's feet nailed separately, or one over the other?
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- The determining cause of Christ's death: asphyxia after prolonged struggle

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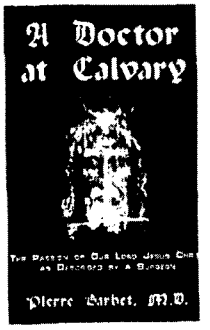

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This same incoherent utopianism remains embedded in the cultural program of the Left. The culture of the Sixties is basically unsustainable; it can only live parasitically, on the body of tradition. Each victory for the new morality can only lead to yet more radical—and less realistic—demands, eventually provoking a traditionalist reaction.

Take homosexuality. It's true that America's view of homosexuality has shifted irrevocably. Only a small minority of today's Americans would have us return to the Fifties, when homosexuality was so shameful that gays were barred from positions in the State Department for fear of blackmail. Still, although many Americans welcome increased tolerance of gays, most would nonetheless object to full equivalence between homosexuality and heterosexuality—that's why majorities continue to oppose gay marriage. But complete removal of any distinction between homosexuality and heterosexuality remains the program of gay activists. In the end, this would require not so much gay marriage, as the complete elimination of state-sanctioned marriage in favor of an infinitely variable set of family and sexual arrangements. And, as we're beginning to see in a few states, total equivalence would also require secondary-school programs in which homosexuality and heterosexuality are presented to children as equally legitimate alternatives.

Gay activists know all this, and patiently continue to push their radical program—incrementally. But the program is impossible: It rests on the utopian premise that the stigma of homosexuality can be entirely removed, even though that stigma originates in the primal fact that well over 90 percent of the population is heterosexual. Whatever the state does, gays will always feel like outsiders, simply because the vast majority of people take heterosexuality for granted. A misguided attempt to "overcome" this preference can only lead to reaction from the heterosexual majority.

This is already happening. As gay "civil unions," and programs on homosexuality directed at high-school students, have been introduced in Sixties-friendly Vermont, conservatives have staged a comeback—handing Republicans control of the state's house for the first time in 14 years. The larger point is that the carriers of the Sixties' cultural legacy will always radicalize their program until it surpasses the limits of possibility and provokes a backlash. So the erosion of the taboo against homosexuality does not mean final cultural victory for the Left; it means perpetual oscillation between radicalism and tradition.

■

The arguments over identity, family, and sex are likely to last for generations.

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The impossibility of sustaining a culturally "Left" style of life is also illustrated by voting habits of women after they marry and have children. In ever-increasing numbers, women have been putting off marriage to pursue careers. The abortion right is a valuable safety valve for this lifestyle, so these women tend to vote for pro-choice Democrats. But eventually most women marry, and parenting changes their cultural priorities—moving many into the Republican camp.

Political commentators of different stripes—John Judis in *The New Republic*, David Brooks in *The Weekly Standard*—have spoken of emerging Democratic majorities built around an expanding base of liberal, career-oriented women. But there is an intrinsic limit to the size of any liberal-feminist constituency: the ineradicable yearning of women to marry and mother. If generations of social engineering for androgyny on Israeli kibbutzim could not succeed in moderating these desires, we certainly won't have androgyny in the United States. The impossible utopianism of the feminist drive for androgyny means that, even though the old consensus over "gender" has been broken, what we're in for is perpetual wavering: The trend toward marriage will ebb and flow with changing demographic and social conditions, and the fortunes of the parties will shift accordingly.

Virtually all of the incidents that sparked the Left's declaration of victory in the culture war have in fact had conservative sequels. Eventually, Madonna got married. There may be a Gay Day at Disney World, but the reaction against civil unions in Vermont gives an idea of just how easily a radicalized gay-rights agenda can move blue-collar Democrats into the Republican camp. And Clinton's impeachment drama had a surprising denouement: Al Gore may well have lost because of it. With George W. Bush promising to restore integrity to the White House, Gore was forced to forego Clinton's aid. And for all William Bennett's frustration over Clinton and Hollywood, Gore's most successful move was his choice of Bennett's comrade in arms Joe Lieberman, erstwhile defender of religion and traditional values.

So, the culture wars won't end. With the old consensus broken, but with nothing coherent available to replace it, we're doomed to swing between two unachievable cultural poles. The public is up for grabs. On homosexuality, Americans want neither the intolerance of the Fifties nor the complete equivalence favored by gay activists. On feminism, Americans want the right to dispense with the traditional family—and the right to embrace that tradition when they finally realize how indispensable it is. So not only are there cultural shifts between urban and rural regions, but within the same people at different times in their lives—or even at the same moment, depending on how the question is put.

The intrinsic unworkability of the Left's cultural program means that America's socially conservative opposition will persist. At times, perhaps, it will gain the upper hand; but it will never win total or permanent control. If handled correctly, cultural reaction to Sixties-style extravagance still has the potential to propel Republicans into power. The fortunes of each side will depend on luck and tactical skill. But the arguments over identity, family, and sex are likely to last for generations. The conflicts cut too deep to be wished out of existence by the Left, or solved by the defeatism of the Right. Far from being over, the culture wars have just begun. **NR**

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■ CULTURE WATCH II ■

Exterminate This

The Tom DeLays and the lawyers

JOHN DERBYSHIRE

In January of this year, Supreme Court justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg gave a talk at the law school of the University of Melbourne, Australia. Her topic was judicial independence, and in particular "assaults on judges from the political branches." To illustrate her point, she singled out the current majority whip of the U.S. House of Representatives:

> One powerful member of the U.S. Congress, Tom DeLay, has advocated the impeachment of judges who render unpopular decisions that, in his view, do not follow the law. Mr. DeLay, who is not a lawyer but, I'm told, an exterminator by profession . . .

DeLay has, in fact, been a salaried elected official since 1978. Prior to that, he did indeed run a small exterminating business in Sugar Land, Tex. This fact became known early in his political career, and his opponents, as well as newspaper commentators and cartoonists, have had good sport with it for years. DeLay is surely used to the quips by now, though he may have begun to find them irritating, or perhaps just wearying: In the biography posted on his congressional website, he notes only that he "owned and operated a small business." He certainly took exception to Justice Ginsburg's remarks, though, and issued a spirited rejoinder:

> I'm sure Justice Ginsburg does not believe that the judicial branch is above accountability. . . . I also reject Ginsburg's assertion that I am not qualified to offer an opinion on problems within our justice system. . . . I believe that average Americans—not just Ivy League lawyers—have both a right and an obligation to speak out when they see members of the judiciary overstepping the proper scope of the law.

This exchange illustrates two key features of our political life today: first, that we are undergoing a slow drift toward a mandarinized society run by an elite of law-school graduates who hold all occupations other than their own in more or less open contempt; and second, that resistance to this drift is alive and well, even in the lawyer-heavy U.S. Congress.

To run an exterminating business is, of course, to provide a very useful service to one's fellow citizens, much more useful than the ones most civilian government employees provide. I have no idea whether or not Albo Pest Control, the firm DeLay ran, was successful, and I bet Justice Ginsburg doesn't know either, but it is certain that without small firms like that, life would be very difficult indeed. And yet the law-school elites and their hangers-on regard those who provide these services with disdain—a disdain so internalized they assume that everyone else feels it too, so that they can be free to opine as Ginsburg did (even on foreign soil). Remember the comment of that other law-school graduate (and wife of a law-school graduate), Hillary Clinton, during the debate on her health-care plan, dismissing questions about the burdens it would place on small firms with the sneering remark that she could not "be responsible for every undercapitalized small business in America."

Remarks like these are now ubiquitous. I took a break from writing this article to watch a Fox News discussion about the Marc Rich pardon. There was Democratic strategist Bob Beckel—architect of Walter Mondale's 1984 presidential campaign—laying into Congressman Dan Burton, whom he referred to as a graduate of the "Iowa Institute of Auto Mechanics." It seems to me that on any rational scale

Mr. Derbyshire is a contributing editor of NATIONAL REVIEW.

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of values, an auto mechanic ranks much higher in social utility than a political consultant. Why anyone should think less of a man for having acquired such an honorable trade is not clear, but plainly Beckel believes we *should* so think. (In fact, Burton's congressional bio lists Indiana University and the Cincinnati Bible Seminary. Beckel holds a B.S. from Wagner College, a liberal-arts institution in New York City.)

In Imperial China the social ranking was *shi*, *nong*, *gong*, *shang*: the scholar-bureaucrat, the farmer, the artisan, and last of all the despised merchant. Some such spirit has always been present here—see the description of Gopher Prairie's commercial center in chapter 4 of Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*. The partiality of America's ruling classes toward lawyering has a long pedigree, too: Lawyers were prominent in the Continental Congress, and seven of the first ten presidents were lawyers. The 27th president, William Howard Taft, was actually made chief justice of the United States after leaving the White House, and found the second line of work much more agreeable than the first. He wrote: "I don't remember that I ever was President."

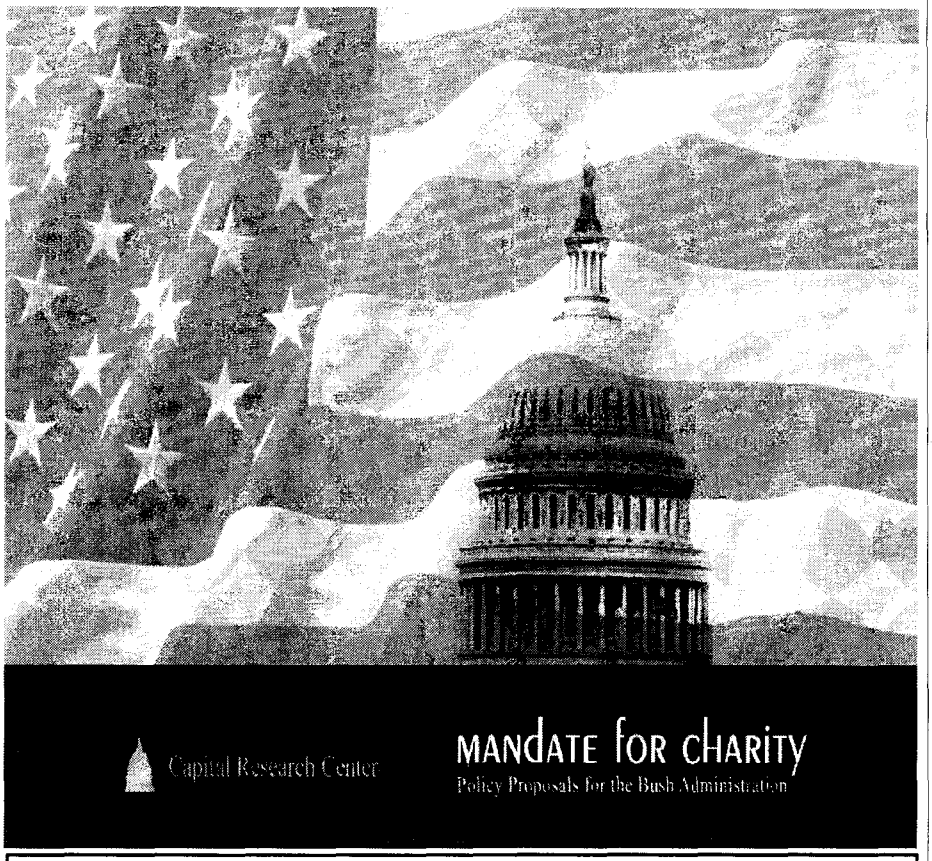
It is a curious feature of political vituperation in this country that a president who has been a lawyer is never made fun of on that account, while a president who has followed any other trade is never allowed to forget it. Reagan was scoffed at for having been an actor, Truman for his adventures in haberdashery, Carter for his career as a peanut farmer. Yet neither Coolidge, the most mocked of all modern presidents, nor Nixon, the most reviled, ever had it held against him that he had once been a working lawyer.

The power of the mandarins is waxing ever greater now, with the vast apparatus of modern government theirs to command—but so, thankfully, is resistance to this mandarinization. The reason Tom DeLay went into politics in the first place was his indignation at the arrogance of EPA bureaucrats in banning a useful pesticide.

It is not easy to remember now that when America was new, there was a hunger for law and lawyers. Abraham Lincoln, as a boy, once walked 34 miles for the pleasure of "hearing a lawyer make a speech." That was on the Indiana frontier in the 1820s—not a place where the rule of law was very securely established.

And elsewhere, that hunger is still keen today. A few months ago, I had lunch with a gentleman named Dong YuYu, a visitor from mainland China, where he works as literary editor of a highbrow national newspaper. I had recently been vexed—for reasons I have since forgotten—by some member of the legal profession, and I complained about this to Mr. Dong. America, I told him, was plagued by lawyers. They are crawling into every area of our national life, like cockroaches, nibbling away at all the cement of decency and mutual consideration that holds our society together . . . Mr. Dong was shaking his head. No, he said, you can't have too many lawyers. Oh, I said, but he could not possibly imagine . . . He was still shaking his head. "No. Don't complain. You can't have too many." I persisted. Did he follow the O. J. Simpson case? That so-called "dream team" . . . "No," said Mr. Dong, calmly but very firmly now, "*You can't have too many lawyers.* You can't. Impossible. Never too many." I could not budge him on the point, this man from a nation hungry for law.

There, perhaps, is the solution to our lawyer problem: Let's export them! **NR**



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What black anger means for the Democrats

BYRON YORK

MAXINE WATERS was livid. "If Maynard Jackson does not get taken care of so he can represent us inside this party," she told delegates at the Democratic National Committee's winter gathering in Washington, "there ain't gonna be no meeting to elect nobody else!" Waters, the six-term congresswoman and one-time head of the Congressional Black Caucus, was trying to build support for Jackson, the former Atlanta mayor who was a late entry into the race for party chairman. But fundraiser Terry McAuliffe, with the backing of Bill and Hillary Clinton, had already locked up more than enough votes to win. With the election just hours away, Waters made a frankly racial appeal on Jackson's behalf, taking pains to "remind" black delegates that they should vote for the former mayor. And part of her appeal was the threat to disrupt the whole winter meeting. "We had to do it that way," Waters later explained.

Since Jackson was sure to lose, what Waters really wanted was a set of concessions from McAuliffe—a big title for Jackson, new staff, more power within the party—and, in the end, she got most of what she wanted. In return for Jackson's promise to drop his challenge, McAuliffe awarded Jackson the newly created position of "National Development Chair," which gives him control of a variety of equal-opportunity programs inside the DNC, as well as of the party's new Voting Rights Institute. "We are a united party with one mission," Jackson said in a let-bygones-be-bygones statement released after the agreement.

But the Democrats are not at all united. The story of the winter meeting—the late-night negotiating sessions, the demands, and the threats of racial confrontation that led to the Jackson settlement—is an ominous development for the Democratic leadership. The party has within its ranks a group of angry activists who might through sheer force of will chart the party's direction in the next couple of years. The group—made up of a relatively small portion of the DNC's black caucus, plus some white allies—is convinced that Al Gore won the presidential election, and it plans to re-fight the Florida vote for months and years to come, even at the expense of planning future races. For now, centrist Democrats can only hope the firebrands' influence fades soon. If it doesn't, the Democrats, so close to victory last year, may be headed toward a 1980s-style electoral wilderness.

Terry McAuliffe by David Smith

'A FLORIDA INSIDE THE DNC'

The Jackson candidacy, for all the passion it inspired, was a relatively brief affair. It began in mid December, when, during a conference call of DNC executive-committee members, officials said chairman Joe Andrew was leaving and McAuliffe would run for the job. Waters took that as an announcement of a *fait accompli*—others on the call didn't hear it that way—and said she was angry that black Democrats hadn't been consulted. She mentioned Jackson as a possible candidate to oppose McAuliffe.

"His phone jumped off the hook after she threw his name out there," says Daniel Halperin, Jackson's business partner in Atlanta who would come to run the Jackson campaign. "But it was an uphill battle." That is an understatement. There are about 450 delegates who are allowed to vote for DNC chairman. By January 1, McAuliffe had in his hand signed endorsements from more than 300 of them, a total that rose as the month went on. In addition, his support cut across racial lines,

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with at least two-thirds of the 90 members of the black caucus in the McAuliffe corner. Altogether, it appeared that Jackson might not be able to muster more than 40 votes party-wide.

On more than one occasion, Jackson suggested the whole election was rigged; he called it "a Florida inside the DNC." But many delegates looked at it another way: What sense did it make to support a candidate who could barely make a dent in McAuliffe's lead? Wouldn't that be a self-marginalizing strategy? "I couldn't figure out why Maynard was in," says Alice Huffman, a longtime Democratic activist and black-caucus member who became a key McAuliffe supporter. "I didn't see why we should just all team up because we were black and put the party in the position that if Terry won, then we weren't with [the party]."

The winter meeting began on Thursday, February 1, with the election scheduled to take place the following Saturday morning. That gave both sides just two days to avoid a potentially divisive standoff. On Thursday, after a day filled with meetings and cocktail receptions and dinners, Jackson and McAuliffe got together for a negotiating session that began at 11 P.M. in McAuliffe's campaign headquarters on the ground floor of the Capitol Hyatt Hotel. With them were Waters, Huffman, Halperin, Harold Ickes, former chairman Don Fowler, and a few others. It turned out to be a long night.

Waters played the race card almost immediately. "When we sat down to negotiate, Terry McAuliffe brought in the room with him six black people," she recalled later. "[They] started to speak for him and tell Maynard Jackson why he was unacceptable—black folks!—why he was unacceptable to them." According to Waters, pro-McAuliffe blacks in the meeting argued that supporting Jackson would diminish their influence within the party. "We had to tell them, 'You ain't got no power,'" Waters said. "We had to remind African-Americans that this man [McAuliffe] just came in and denied you your power. . . . You've already signed away your power."

Cooler heads tried to find a workable compromise. "Could we find a place for Maynard to work with Terry in the party that would make a contribution and would not undermine any of the other offices in the party?" Huffman recalls thinking. "After all, we had two African-American vice presidents [of the DNC]. We were looking for a win-win agenda." By 4 A.M., the two sides had come up with the basic structure of a deal. But nothing was signed, and the group agreed to meet again on Friday.

They didn't. Instead, on Friday evening, the conflict took a turn for the worse during an angry and contentious meeting of the party's black caucus. Waters wanted the entire caucus to endorse Jackson. The McAuliffe forces refused. The Jackson team accused the McAuliffe supporters of having a plantation mentality. And then McAuliffe himself came in and made matters worse. Discussing allegations of voter intimidation in Florida, he inadvertently referred to black voters as "colored people" instead of "people of color." Waters's troops made a big deal of that perceived slight, extracting multiple apologies from McAuliffe. "It was just horrible," says one person present.

And it was all for nothing, because after the yelling was over, Jackson still didn't have many votes. A few hours later—at one o'clock Saturday morning—the negotiating teams gathered again in the Hyatt's closed cocktail lounge. The formal deal came at 3 A.M., with the final handshake at a 6 A.M. breakfast. An hour later, the party sent out a press release with Jackson's we-are-united statement.

McAuliffe had won, but at a cost. Most people who heard his acceptance speech on Saturday had no idea of the jarring—and exhausting—racial battle he had just gone through. But the story helps explain the extraordinary tone of his speech, which at times sounded as if it had been written by Maxine Waters. In a way, it had been.

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"Racial profiling on the highway has now moved to the voting booth!" McAuliffe boomed, beginning a string of racially inflammatory accusations about the 2000 election. "George Bush says he's for election reform. Well, reform this: I say, park the state police cars, take down the roadblocks, stop asking people of color for multiple forms of identification, print readable ballots, open the polling places, count all the votes, and start practicing democracy in America again!" And finally, this: "We won that election. If Katherine Harris, Jeb Bush, Jim Baker, and the Supreme Court hadn't tampered with the results, Al Gore would be president, George Bush would be back in Austin, and John Ashcroft would be home reading *Southern Partisan* magazine!" Waters couldn't have said it any better if she had delivered the speech herself.

'THE BADDEST SISTER IN AMERICA'

In practical terms, McAuliffe's concessions to Waters and Jackson meant that a significant portion of the party's energies will be committed to a post-Florida emphasis on "voting rights." The DNC will concentrate not only on making voting easier, and vote-counting more reliable—bipartisan concerns—but on proving allegations that minorities were somehow "disenfranchised" in Florida and elsewhere. One of McAuliffe's first announcements as chairman was that the DNC, along with several civil-rights groups, will hold hearings on charges of racism and voting irregularities in Florida in coming weeks.

The preoccupation with re-fighting Florida worries some centrist Democrats. "It's very important that we deal with the kind of electoral problems that popped up in Florida but not maintain the grievance forever," says Ed Kilgore, policy director of the Democratic Leadership Council. "For one thing, the kind of people the Democrats need to win over in '02 and '04 are not going to be terribly exercised about this a year from now. Second, it tends to keep you

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from the kind of self-criticism necessary to win in the future. And third, it makes your message a long, undifferentiated yell."

Kilgore and his colleagues got a taste of the base's anger last month when the DLC held a forum on the 2000 presidential defeat and what the party should do in the future. "We got a lot of letters and e-mails after the symposium," Kilgore says. "People were absolutely beside themselves with anger at us for suggesting that Gore lost."

Party leaders don't like to discuss it, but the anger splits roughly along racial lines. "It's a divide between white Democrats who wanted Gore to win and who accept the outcome and black Democrats who wanted Gore to win and think they got completely screwed," says one party strategist. "To ignore it or pretend like it's just going to go away by itself is really dangerous." It's particularly worrisome when the group that is angriest gave the party more than 90 percent of its votes. And that's why Terry McAuliffe gave the acceptance speech that he gave.

There will no doubt be more. If anything, it appears the winter-meeting battle emboldened Waters to push for greater influence in the party. After the negotiating had concluded, Waters, Jackson, and some of their followers moved across town to another hotel where Tavis Smiley, of Black Entertainment Television, was holding a forum called "State of the Black Union." Waters took her place on stage and began to tell the story of the last 48 hours.

"We created a fight inside the party," she told the crowd. She explained that it was only when she threatened to disrupt McAuliffe's carefully planned coronation that she and Jackson got the concessions they demanded. "We went and negotiated and as of today, as of this hour, Maynard Jackson is the National Development Chairman of the party, with a ten-million-dollar budget, a new voting-rights institute, the authority to give assistance to state parties and divide up the money that goes into coordinated campaigns, new opportunity guidelines, and some other things that we fought for. We challenged the party."

The villains in Waters's story were the black delegates who had supported McAuliffe. At the end of her talk, she gave the (mostly black) audience a bit of advice. "If you don't have the courage to stand with us, to be with us," she said, "don't *ever* go into a room to provide a shield for a white man against a black man. Don't *ever* do it."

A short time later, Jackson took the stage amid great applause. "This could not have happened without Maxine Waters," he said, with real gratitude. "This is without a doubt the baddest sister in America." The former mayor was, as usual, smooth, good-natured, and relaxed. But his message was a warning shot, just in case McAuliffe needed one more. "I want you to know that you and I have been complaining for years about being taken for granted by the Democratic party—and it's absolutely true," Jackson told the crowd. "I give you my promise that will never happen again. Never happen again. The Democratic party is going to respect us, respect our power, respect our vote, and I'm going to help Terry McAuliffe to see to it."

No doubt he will. And Democrats might find themselves refighting the last election until they lose the next one. **NR**

Gray Dawn

The new tack of an ur-conservative

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

THE current edition of *Lingua Franca*, an academic magazine of more than academic interest, contains an article on the drift of intellectuals away from the Right towards a position hostile to the supposedly unregulated capitalism of the post–Cold War world. It is entitled "Ex-Cons." And it concentrates on the political transformation of two intellectuals in particular, namely John Gray, Professor of European Thought at the London School of Economics, and Edward Luttwak, a senior fellow at the Center for Strategic & International Studies and author of *Turbo-Capitalism*.

The subject is certainly an absorbing and significant one. A flight of intellectuals rightwards from the Left between 1968 and 1980 created neoconservatism and heralded the decade-long hegemony of Reaganism and Thatcherism in Anglo-America. If Messrs. Gray and Luttwak represent a similar flight in the opposite direction, then we might conceivably be on the verge of an upsurge in left-wing thought and activism. Nor are signs lacking of such a trend—the rolling anti-WTO riots that began in Seattle, the rise of Naderism in the 2000 campaign, the plurality for Al Gore in the popular vote, and so on. The only problem with *Lingua Franca*'s argument is that neither Luttwak nor Gray can be reasonably cited as evidence of such a trend since neither of them can be fairly described as an ex-conservative.

Luttwak has never been a conservative—except perhaps in the banal and uninformative sense of not being a liberal. He is not a devotee of the free market, which he regards as an atavistic myth holding back America from a sensible policy of competitive mercantilism vis-à-vis Japan. He is not a supporter of moral traditionalism, which he regretfully dismisses as hopeless nostalgia in the age of MTV and *Temptation Island*. And he has no time for such conservative reforms as education vouchers, which he sees as tiresome distractions from the urgent business of National Efficiency. From the days when I knew him in London, he has consistently been a Machiavellian analyst of power. His first book was a dryly witty set of instructions on how to carry out a coup d'état (subsequently made into an entertaining film with Peter O'Toole in the Luttwak fantasy role). And his current criticism of conservatism merely repeats his long-standing irritation with any doctrine that obstructs the development of a strong state dedicated to national greatness—and not *The Weekly Standard*'s feeble "national greatness" with its stress on statues and libraries either, but the real McCoy, with added Blood and Iron. In Prussia, Luttwak might well be classified as a conservative; in modern America, like James Burnham before him, he is a political oddity. (I write that, dispassionately, as an admirer of both Luttwak and Burnham.)

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A RAW CONSERVATISM

John Gray is a different matter entirely. He cannot be described as an ex-conservative because his recent intellectual progress has been a burrowing deeper into conservatism rather than a retreat from it. This truth has been obscured because in the arena of British party politics, he has sought to advance his conservatism through the mechanism of the "New" Labour party—without success, as I shall argue, but with a curious intellectual consistency. It was, after all, the great libertarian sociologist Herbert Spencer who pointed out in the 1880s that Socialism was "the New Toryism." Under cover of its progressive rhetoric, it used the state to halt or retard social and economic changes that undermined the settled ways of working-class life exactly as the Tories had sought to stop the industrialization that overturned the dominance of Rural England. In staking out a similar position today, Gray outdistances any mere neo- or even paleo-conservative. He reaches indeed the level of an ur-conservative.

Let us begin, however, by briefly examining the conventional account of Gray's political odyssey. In the 1970s, when Thatcherism was beginning to take off, Gray was on the principled libertarian wing of the Right. During the period of High Thatcherism in the 1980s, he gave it philosophical aid and comfort in a series of books celebrating classical liberalism, notably a study of Hayek, as well as via journalistic articles on New Right themes. After Thatcher's fall, he was briefly the sole intellectual supporter of John Major before rejecting Majorism contemptuously as "Thatcherism on auto-pilot." He gradually became more critical of classical liberalism when the collapse of Communism gave rise to a global free market, and he switched in the mid '90s to New Labour as a result. But when Tony Blair failed to amend economic Thatcherism at all significantly, Gray became disillusioned in turn with New Labour. And by the late '90s, with the publication of *False Dawn*—an attack on globalization written with the dash and recklessness of a Polish cavalryman—he was warning of the imminent collapse of the international system and finding himself in the company of George Soros, the left-wing *Guardian* newspaper, and various neo-socialist intellectuals who in America would probably vote for Ralph Nader.

What this conventional account leaves out or implicitly conceals, however, is the grounds on which Gray rejected classical liberalism and embraced a series of interventionist policies. In effect, there were two grounds—both of them deeply conservative.

The first was that he concluded that all varieties of liberalism, including Hayek's revival of classical liberalism, were irredeemably flawed. Several of Gray's theoretical works were republished in the mid '90s with "postscripts" in which he severely amended or even repudiated his earlier conclusions. His reconsideration of Hayek, for instance, continued to elevate Hayek as a profound critic of socialism but dismissed his defense of classical liberalism as based on two incompatible foundations—social traditions and the unregulated free market that undermines them.

An abstract of Gray's theoretical revisions might go something like this: Liberalism of all kinds is the main carrier of the "Enlightenment project" of establishing a rational justification for a universal morality—and for the liberal regime that rests on it. As such, it is doomed to failure. No morality exists detached from particular historical traditions. And not only is there no overriding principle that can determine which moral tradition is superior to another, there is not even a principle that can determine which value is superior to another within the same tradition. The most we can hope to achieve is a modus vivendi between these different values and traditions, or, in simple language, a muddling through. Accordingly, instead of mankind moving inexorably towards the same liberal regime, as Francis Fukuyama argues (at least in Gray's account), there are innumerable legitimate regimes in the world—and their legitimacy rests not on some theoretical principle but on the fact that they provide safety, security, and prosperity for their citizens in ways that conform to the moral and historical traditions of their societies. Liberals are caught uncomfortably between recognizing the autonomy of different societies and wanting to impose some parochial Western version of "freedom" on them. And Hayekian liberals are especially caught in this trap because their version of imposed liberty—the unregulated global free market—undermines the moral tradition of every society it encounters, not excluding the societies of Britain and America in which it was formulated.

John Gray by Ismael Roldan

Much may be said in response to this critique, but it is unmistakably a conservative one. It bears a strong resemblance to the criticisms of the liberal doctrines of the French revolution launched by Burke, Maistre, and the Romantics. And in particular it echoes Burke's argument, in his attack on Warren Hastings, that the Indians must be governed on *their* principles and not on ours. This point of view runs counter to those advocates of globalization, such as Thomas Friedman in *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, who see the global market as gradually spreading the Western triad of free trade, political democracy, and human rights to every nation on earth.

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Which brings us to the second conservative motif in Gray's thought—that the collapse of the Soviet Union has allowed the United States to impose an unregulated free market on the world and thus radically to threaten the stability of other nations and the world economy. Expressed with the least scholarly qualification in his polemic *False Dawn*, this argument can be summarized thus, beginning with a striking paradox: The regulated market is the natural condition of man, since it is the market qualified by local tradition; the unregulated free market is a species of social engineering imposed by governmental power. In international life after the Cold War, there is similarly not one legitimate capitalism, but several different and competing capitalisms, each shaped by the traditions of its society—Japanese feudalism, the Chinese family structure, German mercantilism, etc. Unfortunately, the U.S. and the world institutions it controls are seeking to impose an unregulated free market on all nations. Throughout the world as in America itself, an unregulated market has malign social effects: It de-skills workers by rendering their skills technically outmoded; it destroys the lifetime bourgeois career; it undermines the family by bringing women into the workforce; it casts doubt on all social identities; it attacks all settled ways of life in favor of constant novelty and "choice"; and internationally it compels all capitalisms to jettison their socially protective institutions, such as Japan's lifetime employment or Europe's welfare states, in the race for competitive efficiency. But such are the social costs of this soulless economic policy—crime, family breakdown, illegitimacy—that it is ultimately inefficient compared with the regulated capitalisms of Japan and Singapore. And after an almighty financial crash, these will emerge as the winners in a more regulated world.

Again, this analysis is both unmistakably conservative and highly questionable. It seeks to protect settled ways of living and local traditions against the free market—exactly what the 19th-century Tories attempted to do—and it recognizes that capitalism will be different in different societies rather than the Identikit "modernization" of classical liberal ideology. But it takes too rosy a view of other capitalisms—is "crony capitalism" a product of local traditions or of local despotism? It attributes all social ills to the unregulated market even when they date back to the regulated '60s. It ignores the evidence of social improvement (collected, ironically, by Francis Fukuyama in *The Great Disruption*) that has accompanied the revival of market economics in the U.S. And it cites the Mexican peso bailout and the Asian contagion as evidence of the coming collapse when both have led to economic recoveries. On the whole, the world's societies seem to be adapting to globalization rather than rejecting it.

A RUINOUS CURE

What is worse, Gray's solutions to this malign dystopia are all unpersuasive. He would like to see some national and/or European regulation of the free market, but recognizes that this is unlikely—indeed that Germany and other countries are moving to a more flexible and deregulated capitalism in an attempt to compete. (Fortunately so, since the attempt to resist economic change would merely ensure that it eventually arrived, as it has done in post–Soviet Russia, in the most concentrated and convulsive form.)

He reposes some hope in the deus ex machina of a world financial crash, from the ruins of which a new world of global regulation would arise. But there is no guarantee that such a crash will itself arrive, though a recession looks inevitable, or that it will persist for the necessary length of time. And even if such a prolonged crash were to ensue, it might not produce the regulation Gray prescribes. As he himself points out, Japan has survived a decade-long recession with very little change.

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And his final proposal—some form of global regulation such as a Tobin tax on international financial transactions or Kyoto-style emission controls—is very likely to come about but unlikely to produce the results he wants. After all, how could global regulation reflect the different cultural traditions of the various capitalisms identified by Gray? Such regulation would in practice be the work of Western lawyers, economists, and bureaucrats in institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO. Even if such legislators were hostile to an unregulated market, they would hardly smile on the Japanese corner shop or the Chinese family firm. Regulation would become a more direct way of imposing a Western liberal vision on more traditional societies than the unregulated free market.

In short, Gray's conservatism is real but unrealistic. Disraeli grasped the essence of conservatism in a period of economic transformation very similar to our own when he said: "In a progressive country change is constant; and the great question is not whether you should resist change which is inevitable but whether that change should be carried out in deference to the manners, the customs, the laws, the traditions of the people, or in deference to abstract principles and arbitrary and general doctrines."

The gradual adaptation of German capitalism to the global market—which thus far means deregulating business without eliminating the welfare safety net—is a contemporary example of Disraeli's advice. Singapore, China, and Britain all exhibit different mixes of tax and regulation that in international competition will survive but change at the margin—so that their societies will become more economically efficient without jettisoning local traditions wholesale. They will remain different capitalisms with different manners, customs, laws, and so on. John Gray's attempt to protect these things against the inevitable challenges of economic and technical change would merely succeed in handing control of our lives to the international bureaucrats who are the latest incarnation of "abstract principles and arbitary and general doctrines." **NR**

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Fringers

Why their problem is our problem

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

It has become a familiar sight, wherever businessmen and central bankers gather in newsworthy numbers: angry young people shouting in the streets, riot police in body armor standing by with tear gas and rubber bullets. Barriers block the roads; police helicopters hover overhead. This time it was Davos, in the Swiss Alps, where in January the World Economic Forum met behind barbed wire and steel barricades to talk of interest rates and universal law. While the dignitaries talked, Swiss police cornered some 300 protesters in a square near the Sheraton hotel, then dispersed the chanting mob with blasts of water cannon.

Chased by water hoses: It's all in a day's work for what Teddy Roosevelt long ago called the "lunatic fringe." After 20 years of nearly unbroken prosperity—in an era of confidence, opportunity, and, for the most part, peace—the unkempt denizens of dismal rented rooms, pining for the lost anarchy of the college dorm, have reached the wonderful conclusion that the world is headed in the wrong direction. Big Western funds compete with one another to send capital to India, China, and Southeast Asia to create businesses, factories, and jobs for people who don't make enough in a year to buy an organically grown dinner in Berkeley—and the troubadours of the traveling riot are throwing themselves in front of the train yelling, "Stop!"

We've seen it before. History *is* repeating itself—not, this time, as farce, but as grunge-soaked road-trip. A hundred years ago, in the midst of the pre–World War I economic boom, the prosperous nations confronted a similar collection of anarchists, nihilists, labor organizers, and self-styled revolutionaries, all of them insisting that contented citizenries in the West had gotten it wrong, that their prosperity was founded on the misery of others, that their notions of progress and freedom were a degrading illusion. Like the fringers who take to the streets in places like Davos, Prague, and Seattle today, the anarcho-fringe groups of the late 19th century had little real power; what power they possessed was mainly the power to make a nuisance of themselves. A century ago, fringers assassinated presidents and princesses; today, they disrupt meetings of financiers.

Like today's radicals, those earlier fringers were difficult to take seriously. To thoughtful observers they appeared much as the Davos and Seattle fringers appear today—a group of confused young people (like Hyacinth Robinson, the sensitive, doomed anarchist in Henry James's *The Princess Casamassima*) manipulated by a few older, more sinister figures. (Ralph Nader would not seem out of place in *The Possessed*, Dostoyevsky's novel of Russian radicalism.) Teddy Roosevelt, always looking for trouble, was an exception in his alarmist appraisal of the power of the fringers. The would-be revolutionaries, he said, could "only be suppressed as the Commune in Paris was suppressed, by taking ten or a dozen of their leaders out, standing . . . them against a wall, and shooting them dead. I believe it will come to that." Roosevelt later denied that he had said this, though at the time of the Haymarket riots he allowed that his cowboys were thirsting for "a chance with rifles at one of the mobs."

Few were as troubled by the fringers as Roosevelt was. "You're just a lot of damn fools," Republican kingmaker Mark Hanna told grumblers at the Union Club in Cleveland. "There won't be any revolution." The late-19th-century radicals were nuisances, to be sure, and very often criminals; but they did not seem like the kind of people who were likely to get into history's saddle and ride, booted and spurred, to some apocalyptic triumph.

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Could the sloppy, slouching radicalism of today produce a cruel and capable beast with the ability to do more than disrupt trade meetings?

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But that is precisely what the late-19th-century radicals did do. In the course of a couple of decades, they transformed themselves into an organized, purposeful, and cunning revolutionary force, one that, in the 20th century, came close to overturning the political, economic, and spiritual institutions of the West. Could the sloppy, slouching radicalism of today produce, in the future, some similarly cruel and capable beast, one with the ability to do more than disrupt trade meetings and capture 3 percent of the U.S. presidential vote?

QUEST FOR A NEW FAITH

Three things transformed the loosely organized radicals of 100 years ago, with their disparate causes and *cris de coeur*, into a disciplined force capable of obtaining power and wielding it viciously: war, economic depression, and the development of a party-line orthodoxy. World War I and its economic repercussions were of course beyond the radicals' control; the development of party orthodoxy was not. Orthodoxy took the form of socialism, which eventually absorbed most of the undirected energy of the radicals, and imposed on it a discipline that made it dangerous.

Like most orthodoxies, socialism triumphed because its advocates offered a more compelling variety of quasi-spiritual poetry than the competition. Edmund Wilson called Karl Marx, who as a young man wrote bad Romantic verses, the "poet of commodities." Wilson got it wrong: Marx was really the poet of community. The individual's lonely existential

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"[The discrepancy in sentencing between crack and powder cocaine] ought to be addressed by making sure the powder-cocaine and the crack-cocaine penalties are the same. I don't believe we ought to be discriminatory."

"One of the things we've got to do a better job of in our society is helping people cure themselves of an illness. Addiction to alcohol or addiction to drugs is an illness. And we haven't done a very good job, thus far, of curing people from that illness."

"I am absolutely opposed to racial profiling. . . I think most Americans are opposed to racial profiling. The best way to get at the root . . . is to first understand if it exists. The federal government can help collect the data necessary to make the right choice."

CNN, Inside Politics, January 18, 2001.

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misery (his "alienation" from both his body and his "intellectual being, his human essence") would be overcome, Marx claimed, through the development of new forms of communal existence. Post-revolutionary man would forsake his false, selfish, property-loving self and find fulfillment through the discovery of his nature as a communal, truly "social" being.

Socialism has been discredited; but the communal ideal to which it aspired is one to which the fringers and the larger Left continue to cling. Tony Blair trumpets community as crucial to his conception of "the stakeholder society." Bill Clinton invoked the communitarian idea in his second inaugural address. His wife's book, *It Takes a Village*, is her meditation on the theme. The fringers have simply taken the communal argument to an extreme. Instead of the modest attempts to roll back property rights that center-left figures propose, the fringers want to go the whole communitarian hog, with property-punishing rates of taxation, trade barriers, and economic roadblocks at the core of a fringer-friendly *res publica*.

Reuters/Andreas Meier

Fringers in Davos

The problem for the fringers (and the larger Left) is that they haven't found a way to translate these aspirations into a substantive orthodoxy. Nor have they found a way to turn those longings into marketable political poetry, the kind of poetry that could rally others to their flag. Socialism is dead, and the Left hasn't found anything to replace it. Bill Clinton failed to follow through on his speechwriters' rhetoric; Tony Blair has devoted his energies to such trivialities as fox hunting and the permanent proroguing of the House of Lords. The brain trusters on the left have so far been unsuccessful in their attempts to make a new, non-socialist program of community palatable to a larger public, at least in America.

Left-leaning academics have tried to undermine Americans' stubborn faith in free markets and self-reliance by waving the civic standard of classical antiquity; but, unless gladiators are involved, Greece and Rome are an extraordinarily tough sell today—even, one suspects, among the fringers themselves. Other academic attempts to undermine the free-market consensus—Critical Legal Studies in the law schools, liberation theology drawn from Latin America, esoteric French- and German-inspired literary criticism (the preferred intellectual grenade for blowing up laws and contracts by undermining their authors' intent)—are even less likely to unify the fringers or provide a rallying cry with wide appeal.

It's possible, of course, that the fringers could work up an orthodoxy out of disparate materials within the Green movement: a coalition of environmentalists, big-business haters, animal-rights activists, and disgruntled opponents of free trade. The problem for the fringers is that established parties in the West are already beginning to cherry-pick the most politically salable Green issues; the centrists simply tone them down and repackage them in more modest wrappers. Nor does the Green movement possess the kind of unifying mysticism that could turn a political platform into a spiritually charged cause.

If the fringers' prospects appear gloomy—if their revolution seems unlikely to go beyond street theater—complacency on the part of conservatives would be a mistake. Thinkers like Samuel Huntington have drawn attention to the *external* threats to Western order—the dangers posed by the hostile competitor cultures Huntington analyzed in his 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*. But the West's *internal* vulnerabilities pose as great a threat. Fringers aren't bad people. They are people who, in their search for a faith, have allowed themselves to become foot soldiers in the struggle to create the next cruel idolatrous creed.

Whittaker Chambers once said that few Communists he knew were anything "more than triflers with [Marx's] dialectic." Sergei Nechayev's *Catechism of the Revolutionist*, a Bible for radicals ever since its appearance in the 1860s, does more than the dialectic ever will to explain the allure of radicalism. The book, a sort of 19th-century *Goodfellas*, makes the revolutionary's existence seem glamorous, darkly fun, and, above all, spiritually heroic. ("The revolutionist is a doomed man," the work begins melodramatically.) Young people in the past turned to Marx and Nechayev not because of the bogus science but because of the promise of spiritual fulfillment. Young people today turn to the revived communitarianism of the fringe for the same reason.

That makes their problem our problem. You know that the custodians of a civilization's conscience are doing a lousy job when they stand by and watch a new generation of Hyacinth Robinsons embrace so anemic an ideal as that of community. Why have the older, better traditions failed to reach the fringers? Part of the problem, to be sure, lies in the sullen obstinacy of the rebel young. But that is not the whole problem. A civilization that fails to find acceptable ways of exposing the rising generations to the full splendor of its own spiritual heritage is not an altogether healthy one. The fringers who take to the streets in Davos and Seattle—wrong about so many things—are right about this: The civilization they condemn has in certain departments given them something less than they deserve. **NR**

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Our Biotech Future

An exchange

RONALD BAILEY

ENABLING parents to genetically enhance their children is not going to be as easy as some of us might hope, nor will it happen as soon as we might wish, but Dinesh D'Souza is right when he claims in his article "Staying Human" (Jan. 22) that one day it will be possible. This prospect frightens him. Why?

First, let's note that D'Souza is *not* against using genetic technology to cure genetic diseases, or using germline interventions to eliminate genetic diseases in future generations, or even using human cloning to overcome infertility; what he opposes is the use of "enhancement technologies to shape the destiny of others, and especially their children." D'Souza denounces such parents as "totalitarians" engaging in "despotism" and "tyranny."

But his opposition to this practice is fundamentally misconceived. First of all, he asserts that those of us who see no moral objection to genetic enhancements "speak about freedom and choice, although what [they] advocate is despotism and human bondage." This is nonsense. D'Souza has evidently adopted a notion of hard genetic determinism that is simply not warranted by biology. A gene that enhances one's capacity for music doesn't mean that its possessor must become another Scott Joplin or Keith Jarrett; genes simply don't work that way. D'Souza, like all of us, has many capacities stemming from his specific genetic endowment. He could, for example, have become a professional rugby player or a computer engineer, but he chose not to develop those particular abilities despite the fact that his specific complement of genes could have allowed him to.

Giving children such enhanced capacities as good health, stronger bodies, and cleverer brains, far from constraining them, would in fact give them greater freedom and more choices. It's a strange kind of despotism that enlarges a person's abilities and options in life.

But D'Souza is wrong even on his own terms. He has no objection to fixing genetic diseases and disabilities, because one can assume that the beneficiary—the not-yet-born, possibly even not-yet-conceived child—would happily have chosen to have those flaws corrected. Let's say a parent could choose genes that would guarantee her kid a 20-point IQ boost. It is reasonable to presume that the kid would be happy to consent to this enhancement of his capacities. How about plugging in genes that would boost his immune system and guarantee that he would never get colon cancer, Alzheimer's, AIDS, or the common cold? Again, it seems reasonable to assume consent. These enhancements are general capacities that any human would reasonably want to have. In fact, lots of children already do have these capacities naturally, so it's hard to see that there is any moral justification for outlawing access to them for others.

Instead of submitting to the tyranny of random chance, which cruelly deals out futures blighted with ill health, stunted mental abilities, and early death, parents would be able to open more possibilities for their children to have fulfilling lives. Genetic enhancements to prevent these ills would not violate a child's liberty or autonomy, and certainly do not constitute the slavery depicted in D'Souza's overwrought analogy.

"The power they seek to exercise is not over 'nature,' but over *other human beings*," claims D'Souza. Actually, most of those who want access to genetic technologies for their children are motivated by exactly the opposite desire: What they seek is the power to defend their children against the manifold cruelties and indignities that "nature" so liberally dispenses, and thus make it possible for their children to have fulfilling lives. The good news is that would-be tyrannical parents who buy into D'Souza's erroneous notions of hard genetic determinism will be disappointed. Their children will have minds and inclinations all distinctly their own, albeit genetically enhanced.

■

D'Souza has evidently adopted a notion of hard genetic determinism that is simply not warranted by biology.

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Let's look briefly at some of D'Souza's other objections. He asserts with apparent alarm that "people living today can determine the genetic destiny of *all* future generations." This is true, but trivial: Our ancestors, too—through their mating and breeding choices—determined for us the complement of genes that we all bear today. They just didn't know which specific genes they were picking. The future will not be populated by robots who may look human but who are unable to choose for themselves their own destinies—genetic or otherwise.

D'Souza also has egalitarian worries that the "availability of enhancement technologies will create two classes in society": "Democratic societies can live with inequalities conferred by the lottery of nature, but can they countenance the deliberate introduction of biological alterations that give some citizens a better chance to succeed than others?" But D'Souza agrees that the type of genetic interventions contemplated here will likely become available to everyone as their prices go down. This seems to me to be a recipe for *eliminating* genetic inequalities rather than perpetuating them. Once inserting genes becomes routine and cheap, everyone will have access to it in fairly short order. As to whether our democratic society will be endangered by genetic engineering, I maintain that democracy and political equality are sustained chiefly by the principle that people are responsible moral agents who can distinguish between right and wrong, and deserve equal consideration before the law and a

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respected place in our political community. Having some citizens who take advantage of genetic technologies, and others who do not, will not change that.

D'Souza then accuses those who would allow access to genetic enhancements of not being "worried about diminishing the sanctity of human life." But who has a higher regard for the sanctity of life—those who fatalistically counsel us to live with the often bum hands that nature deals us, or those who want to use genetic technologies to ameliorate the ills that have afflicted humanity since time immemorial? Respecting the sanctity of life doesn't require that we take whatever random horrors nature dishes out.

Setting aside D'Souza's confusion over the philosophical issues surrounding consciousness, it is certain that it is our brains (conscious or not, awake or not), and not our genes, that make us individual human beings. The case of identical twins proves the point: They have precisely the same genes, but they are different, sometimes *very* different, people. That's why, in recent years, our society has legally defined death as brain death. Once our brains are gone, we are gone, even though our bodies—with all their genes—may live on. The fact is that we respect people, not their genes.

It is true for genetic engineering, as for all other technologies, that some people will misuse it; tragedies will occur. Given the sorry history of government-sponsored eugenics, control over genetic engineering must never be given to any government agency. But to use genetic engineering is not, by definition, to abuse it. This technology offers the prospect of ever greater freedom for individual human beings, and should be welcomed by everyone who cares about human life.

—Mr. Bailey is the science correspondent for Reason *magazine.*

DINESH D'SOUZA

THE basic difference between Ron Bailey and me is that we have different views of human nature and human dignity. Bailey's argument, however, fails not only by my principles but by his own. He is so enamored of techno-utopian schemes that he is willing to sacrifice the core libertarian principle of individual autonomy to give children the "enhanced capacities" he is confident they will come to appreciate.

My wife and I are blessed to have a 6-year-old daughter. Had she suffered from a serious disease or disability, we would not have hesitated to take the necessary steps, including gene therapy, to cure her. Fortunately, our daughter is a normal child who doesn't suffer from any serious physical or mental disease. In our view, she is a gift, with her own distinctive potential and personality. Our job as parents is to help her develop her abilities and fulfill her promise. So we give her chess lessons and music lessons and so forth. But, like most parents, we would regard with horror the notion of redesigning her genetic structure.

Why? Because our children are not our property. We are entrusted with them, but we do not have the right to subject their distinctive nature to our will. It's strange that Bailey sees no problem in invoking a libertarian principle—the freedom to shape one's own life—in order to justify parents using scientific manipulation to regulate the genetic makeup of other people. What greater violation of individual autonomy is even conceivable? If I were to capture Bailey forcibly, take him to a lab in the Bahamas, and alter his brain to make him (let us say) more musical and give him ten extra IQ points, wouldn't he regard it as a profound violation of his autonomy and dignity? I suspect that Bailey would not be persuaded by my insistence that I was merely trying to expand his range of choices.

■

The great danger is that we might become arrogant enough to believe that we can improve on human nature itself.

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Bailey insists, however, that genetic engineering is benign because we can trust parents to look out for the welfare of their offspring. In general, this is true, but this presumption of the wisdom of paternalism is typically restricted to a child's years of dependence. My parents may give me piano lessons, but when I am older I can choose to give up the piano. My parents may want me to become a doctor, and thus force me to take biology—but I can choose to become a writer. By contrast, if parents are able to remake a child's genetic makeup, they are in a sense writing the genetic instructions that shape his entire life. If my parents give me blue eyes instead of brown eyes, if they make me tall instead of medium height, if they choose a passive over an aggressive personality, their choices will have a direct, lifelong effect on me. One need not be a genetic determinist to suggest that people lack the wisdom to "play God" in this sense. Would Bailey have wanted his parents to have designed him on a computer, selecting traits that they found desirable and eliminating those they didn't care for?

The greatest danger of genetic engineering is that we might become arrogant enough to believe that we can not only remedy nature's defects but also improve on human nature itself. We should not have the right to try such experiments out on other people, even our own offspring. The children are human persons, and to tamper with their structure in the absence of a clear need—such as to avoid a specific disease—is a fundamental and impermissible violation of their integrity.

The ultimate goal of the techno-utopians is to straighten out the crooked timber of our humanity. This project is likely to fail, but its success would be even worse: It would mean that we will have ceased, in any meaningful sense, to be human.

—Mr. D'Souza, a research scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, is the author of The Virtue of Prosperity: Finding Values in an Age of Techno-Affluence.

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THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

FROM THE (EX-) PRESIDENTIAL MAILBAG

Dear Mr. President:

Miss Streisand is currently preparing a new album, and is therefore unavailable to speak with you. She did, however, want me to get in touch with you as soon as possible, to convey her best wishes and fond thoughts.

It was gracious of you to invite her for "dinner, drinks, whatever" the next time she "rolls into the Big Apple." Unfortunately, Miss Streisand's schedule is understandably hectic at this time, and her plans don't call for a trip to Manhattan in the near future.

Miss Streisand wishes both you and Senator Clinton the very best.

Sincerely,

Rory
Assistant to Miss Streisand

Dear Applicant:

Thank you for your recent inquiry about *Survivor III*. At the present time, we are formulating the location and format of the next exciting *Survivor* installment. We will keep your picture and résumé on file and review it at the appropriate time.

Thanks for your interest.

CBS Television

Dear Bill:

Welcome to New York!

I've been out of town for a few days and just got back to see that you've called a couple of times. Sorry for the delay, but I wanted to drop you a quick note to say hi, welcome, and let's get together soon, when my schedule (and yours!) clears up a bit.

I've been crazy-busy, as you can understand. But I do want to get together soon, for lunch, dinner, whatever. I got your last message about possible "opportunities" at Citigroup, and let me be the first to say that you'd be a terrific and valuable member of the team here.

Unfortunately, we're in a period of "retrenchment," as they say. We're still trying to cut costs and trim our workforce—even at the board level—so I'm not sure Citigroup is the best fit at this time.

But enough business! Welcome to town! Let's grab lunch or something when you're settled in and I'm in town.

Best,

Bob Rubin

P.S.: Do you have e-mail? It's much easier to use, and we can avoid that awful "phone tag"! Mine is: assistant.to.BobRubin@citigroup.com.

Dear Mr. President:

I can't tell you how happy I was to receive your recent note! I've been a supporter and a fan for years!

And I agree with everything you say in your letter: You are a "likeable, attractive guy" who is "quick on his feet and very witty" and who "knows his way around a joke" and "how to work an audience." You are everything we are looking for in a celebrity guest on *Hollywood Squares*.

Unfortunately, the square you mentioned in your letter, the famous "Center Square," is not really an option. As you may know, your friend Whoopi Goldberg currently occupies that square on a long-term contractual basis—she also serves as one of our show's producers—and is in many ways the signature of the show.

Is there any "wiggle room" here? Are there any other squares you might consider? The top left and right corners are traditionally very popular with contestants, and either one would be an excellent choice for someone of your stature and dignity.

Let me know at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

Richard Kramer
Talent Coordinator
The All-New Hollywood Squares

Dear Bill:

Thanks very much for your note. I'm glad you enjoyed my recent book.

As much as Rosalynn and I would like to take you up on your offer to "help us out with the house-building-for-the-poor dealy," it's really not possible at this time. Habitat for Humanity (the actual name of the organization, for future reference) is not currently looking for volunteers with your abilities.

Best of luck in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Jimmy Carter

JC:bz
Dictated but not read

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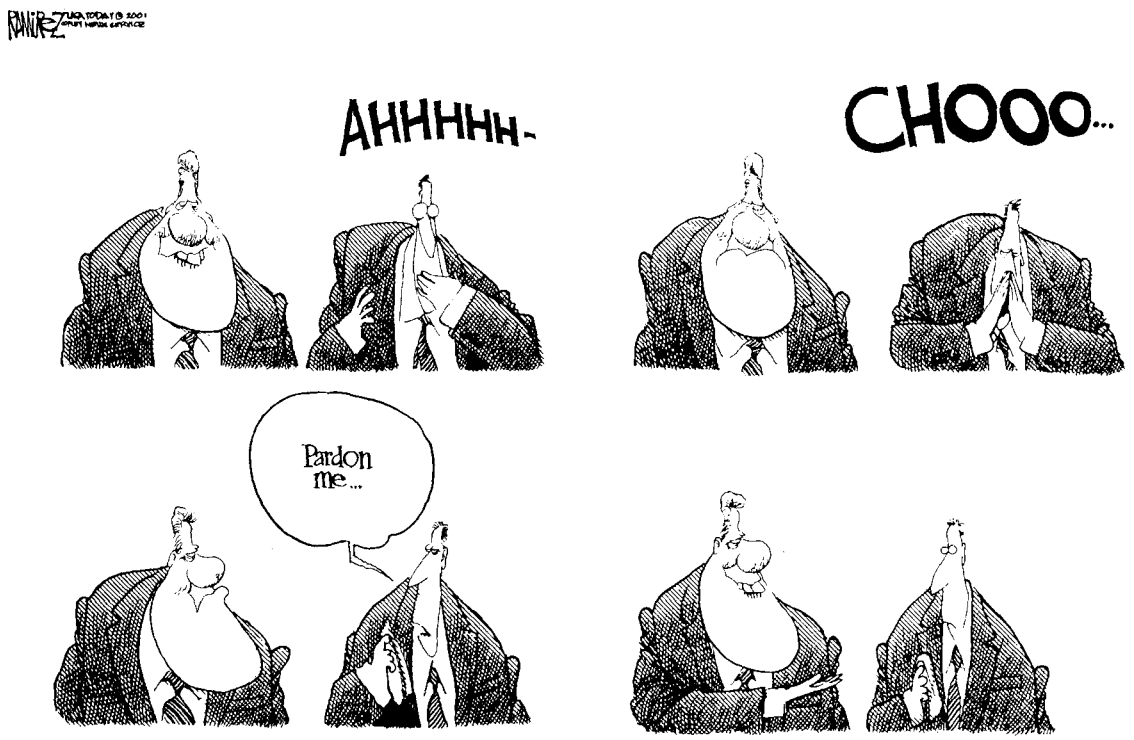

"OUR PARTICIPATION IN FEDERALLY FUNDED, FAITH-BASED PROGRAMS HAS BEEN A SUCCESS. BUT IT DID COME WITH SOME STRINGS ATTACHED..."

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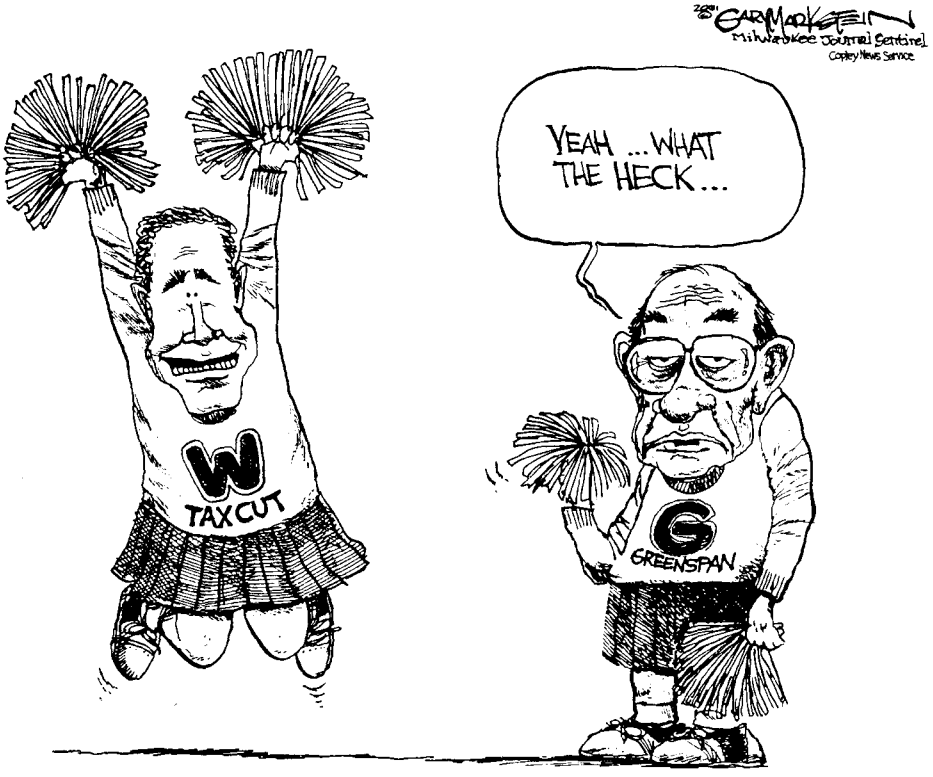
Exuberant Rapture

In a Humphrey-Hawkins talk
Watched by Wall Street as a hawk
Monitors a limping mole,
Alan Greenspan tossed some coal
On George Bush's tax-cut plan,
Prompting Lott to blow and fan
While O'Neill sneaked kerosene
On the four-alarmer scene.

—W. H. von Dreele



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Sins of the Fathers

DANIEL P. MOLONEY

Constantine's Sword: The Church and the Jews: A History, by James Carroll (Houghton Mifflin, 756 pp., $28)

"IF I were Pope . . ." Every Catholic at one time or another plays this game. Pro-lifers would excommunicate Senator So-and-So, traditionalists would return to Mass in Latin, theologians would silence each other, etc. In small measures, this can be a healthy exercise of one's imagination, envisioning a world in some way, small or great, better than the one we inhabit.

It takes a healthy ego to write a full-length book based solely on such woolgatherings, but even in its twilight, the Catholic Left has not lacked partisans with the necessary brio. Since 1999, we have seen John Cornwell's *Hitler's Pope*, Garry Wills's *Papal Sin*, and now James Carroll's *Constantine's Sword*, each laying out a vision of what God *really* intends the Catholic Church to be. Although each claims to be a work of history, each instead uses (and abuses) history to make a case for a Church without all the bad parts: priests, men, heterosexuals, absolute truth, confession, the papacy, Scripture, the Mass, the Resurrection, Rome.

On March 16, 1998, the Vatican issued its long-awaited statement on the Holocaust, "We Remember: A Reflection on the Shoah." The document acknowledged and condemned Christian discrimination against and persecution of Jews throughout its history, and repeated the teaching of the Second Vatican Council that "the Church . . . deplores the hatred, persecutions, and displays of anti-Semitism directed against the Jews at any time and from any source." *Constantine's Sword* is Carroll's attempt to rewrite this historic document as he thinks it should have been written.

Jim Hollander/REUTERS

Pope John Paul II prays at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, March 26, 2000

A vocal segment of liberal opinion, including the editorial board of the *New York Times*, sniffed that the Vatican's statement was fine as far as it went—but it should also have condemned Pius XII for his alleged silence regarding the deportation of Jews, and should not have declared that anti-Semitism is external to the Church. The document quotes John Paul II saying, "In the Christian world—I do not say on the part of the Church as such—erroneous and unjust interpretations of the New Testament regarding the Jewish people and their alleged culpability have circulated for too long, engendering feelings of hostility toward this people." This distinction between "the Christian world" and "the Church as such" seemed to many observers—both Jewish and non-Jewish—a failure to admit just how pervasive Christian anti-Semitism has been in the Church itself.

The Catholic response to this was very theological: Yes, Christians at every level of the Church have treated the Jews unjustly. But when the Pope says "the Church as such," he is referring to Paul's doctrine of the Church as the "mystical body of Christ." The Church cannot sin, because Jesus was without sin, and the Church is nothing other than Jesus Christ dwelling among men in a mystical way. In this theological sense, and in this sense only, is the Church completely innocent of any injustices against the Jews.

Only from this theological viewpoint, it might be added, can the Church condemn the repeated actions of its members, even its leaders, without undermining her own institution. Because the Church is perfect and its members imperfect, the argument goes, it is possible to criticize Christians in the name of the Church, as being bad Christians when they are bad to Jews.

For most people, this solves the problem of dishonesty—the Pope is free to use theological terms in any way he sees fit. Yet Carroll rejects this distinction altogether. "Really to eliminate the contempt for Jews that lives not [just] in the hearts of prejudiced Christians but in the heart of 'the Church as such' requires fundamental changes in the way history has been written, theology has been taught, and Scripture has been interpreted. Indeed, in this context, the very character of Scripture as sacred text becomes an issue." So deep are the roots of anti-Semitism, Carroll insists, that to pull them up is to dislodge the central institutions and doctrines of Christianity. "We Remember," by trying to distance the Church from anti-Semitic Christians, did not go deep enough, so Carroll has set out to do it properly.

Carroll's story has three parts. Part One is an account of the early Church

Mr. Moloney is associate editor of *First Things*.

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period in which Carroll denies the Resurrection of Christ and the divine inspiration of the Gospels. Part Two explains how the Gospel account of the Crucifixion led to the theology of the Cross as elaborated by the medieval bishop St. Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109), which made the death of Christ at the hands of the Jews central to Christian spirituality. Part Three moves from the crusading impulse of Anselm's day to Auschwitz. All along, Carroll tries to connect anti-Judaism, the theological reasons for not being Jewish, with anti-Semitism, the prejudice against the Jewish people. In Carroll's revisionist story, all of the historic conflicts between Jews and Christians stem from the moment when (as the Christians tell it) every faction of the Jewish establishment—the Gospels mention the chief priests, the Pharisees, the officers of the temple police, the Jewish elders, the Sanhedrin, the scribes, the high priest, and the "Herodians" loyal to King Herod—demanded that the Roman praetor Pontius Pilate execute Jesus as a common criminal. Carroll draws a straight line between this Gospel account of the Crucifixion of Jesus and the horrors of Nazi ideology. No crucifix, no Auschwitz, he alleges.

But because Carroll wants to remain a Christian, he seeks to preserve the authentic message of Jesus himself. Relying on the conclusions of the "Jesus Seminar," a well-publicized attempt to find the true historical Jesus behind the "propagandistic" New Testament accounts, Carroll discovers that the initial distinction between Judaism and Christianity itself is illegitimate: Jesus was himself a Jew who taught only love. His message was so revolutionary that it provoked the Romans (not the Jews) into killing him. The grieving disciples gathered in a "bereft circle" where they shared their memories of Jesus, sang songs, read poems, ate and drank to his memory—"the film *The Big Chill* captures this phenomenon," explains Carroll.

Strong emotions led the mourners to pretend that an imaginary Jesus was still with them—"it was as if there were one more member than could be counted . . . the followers once again felt the presence of Jesus, were certain of it, were healed by it." The apostles fell into the habit of talking about Jesus as though he were still alive and with them. When later converts heard the same words, continues Carroll, they took them literally and believed Jesus to have risen from the dead. These later generations were the ones to write down the Gospels, which pinned responsibility for the death of Jesus on the Jews in an attempt to curry favor with the Romans.

■

Carroll draws a straight line between the Gospel account of the Crucifixion of Jesus and the horrors of Nazi ideology.

■

After the Romans burnt the Temple in A.D. 70, the Jesus followers and the Pharisees found themselves the dominant surviving factions of Judaism. Since it was no longer possible to offer sacrifices as Mosaic Law indicated, these groups represented the only plausible ways of reinterpreting God's covenant with Israel. Their leaders drew bright theological lines so that everyone could tell these versions of Judaism apart, using rhetorical arguments with which future generations would justify murders, calumnies, and genocide. Because Jesus' message was rejected by Pharisees and found greater acceptance among Gentiles, Carroll contends, the evangelists prettied up Roman involvement in the death of Jesus to exaggerate the role of the Jews.

For roughly two centuries after the completion of the New Testament, however, Judaism was officially recognized by the Roman emperor while Christianity was not, and indeed was, from time to time, forced underground by local persecutions. All this changed in the year 312 when a young claimant to the imperial throne named Constantine saw a cross in the sky above the words *In Hoc Signo Vinces* ("In This Sign, You Will Conquer"). Constantine's troops were just outside Rome, awaiting the next day's battle at the Milvian Bridge, and their general made a promise to God that if he won that battle he would convert to Christianity and tolerate the Christian religion throughout the em-

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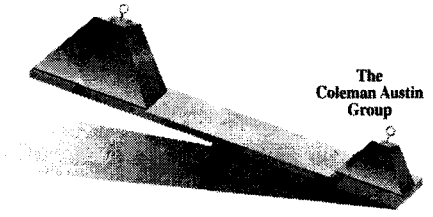

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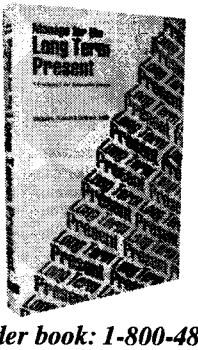

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pire. He quickly had a new standard made—"a long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it"—behind which his troops won a complete victory.

Constantine not only tolerated Christianity but actively strengthened it, and his successors made it the official religion of the empire. Constantine made the cross so central to the Christian story that it "replaced the life of Jesus and the new life of Resurrection at the heart of the Christian imagination." At this, writes Carroll, "the balance shifted decisively against the Jews," because the polemical exaggerations of the Christian scriptures had already blamed the death of Christ on the Jews. In several chapters, Carroll describes how the confluence of imperial power, majority status, and devotion to the Cross gave Christians the ability and incentive to persecute Jews (on occasion) in ways ranging from the burning of synagogues to the denial of government jobs.

Carroll's story then jumps to the end of the 11th century, when Pope Urban II launched a crusade to take back the Holy Land from Muslim control, and St. Anselm of Canterbury finished his dialogue *Cur Deus Homo* ("Why God Became Man"). The linking of theology and violence—"the cross was ubiquitous on the breasts of warriors"—encouraged some Crusaders to knock down a few German synagogues on their way to fight the Moors. But it is Anselm, by all accounts a relatively peaceful man (it is to him that we attribute the custom of beginning even letters to strangers with the intimate salutation "Dear"), to whom Carroll attributes the final theological pillar of Nazism. Anselm's powerful theological vision emphasized that Jesus' freely chosen death was the only way God could fulfill the requirements of justice, namely that man's sins be punished, without also condemning all men to hell. Anselm "succeeded in bringing the notion of Christ's death as atonement to its fullest expression," Carroll writes, because it "explained the dominant religious experience . . . an atoning cross lent meaning to what life required in a brutish time."

Anselm's reasoning is still very influential ("Redeemer" is one of the most commonly used titles for Jesus), and at the center of its logic is the death of Christ, i.e., the Cross. If we accept the first parts of Carroll's story, then we recognize that the Cross calls to mind the anti-Jewish propaganda of the early Church that the Jews were responsible for Jesus' execution, that anti-Judaism is the basis of anti-Semitism, and that anti-Semitism is the basis of all persecution of Jews from medieval pogroms to the death camps.

■

Carroll holds tolerance as his absolute good, and judges both Christianity and Judaism by this standard.

■

Carroll's remaining chapters connect these dots in a rather familiar way, covering the Spanish Inquisition, the Roman ghettos, and the Dreyfus affair, before concluding with a multi-chapter summary of the story told in *Hitler's Pope*. (Carroll admits that Cornwell's bestseller has been ripped to shreds by many scholars, but uses it as a major source nonetheless.) Carroll's own contribution to this subject is his theological argument that anti-Semitism is essential to Christianity. It is hard to know where to begin dismantling this theory; the book has factual mistakes and errors in interpretation on almost every page. To begin with, Carroll is wrong to maintain that the cross became important only after Constantine's vision. That's why the death of Christ takes up so much of each Gospel, and why Paul's letters are packed with such lines as "we preach Christ crucified: a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Gentiles" (I Corinthians 1:23).

Carroll's claim that the early Church touched up the facts surrounding Jesus' death to appease the Romans and condemn the Jews is contradicted by the New Testament itself. Acts describes Peter in his first public appearance as leader of the Church addressing the Jews as "brothers," telling them flatly that they killed their Messiah, and yet offering them forgiveness because they did not know what they were doing. From the beginning, then, the Church saw the death of Jesus as an event in the history of Israel in which the Romans played an ancillary role; it was a great evil, but also an occasion for repentance and forgiveness.

Carroll's overarching mistake is philosophical, however. Jewish-Christian dialogue (as opposed to polemic) can only appeal to what the two religions have in common, namely, the Hebrew Bible and "Judeo-Christian" morality. This shared morality can help them agree on a just resolution of many conflicts, from property disputes to questions of religious freedom. But when it comes to what each thinks about the other's religious beliefs, each appeals to its particular tradition—Jews to the Talmud, for example, Christians to the New Testament—and they agree to disagree. Jews do not expect Christians to denounce Jesus as a blasphemer and Christians do not expect Jews to accept Jesus as Lord. Religious differences may be sad, but they are real; they may even result from the will of God.

Carroll, on the other hand, holds tolerance as his absolute good, and judges both religions by this standard. Rather than accept that God's will may exclude some people from salvation, Carroll insists that religion reshape itself to include everyone; his book ends with a call for a Third Vatican Council, to which not just Catholics would be invited but "Jews and Protestants, people of other faiths and no faith, clergy and laity, and, emphatically, women." If the Church doesn't do this, then the Church is evil; if Jesus didn't want this . . . but of course Jesus wanted this, and if Scripture and tradition say otherwise, then we need to change them too. To be good is to be tolerant; God is goodness itself, therefore God is tolerance—and tolerance is God.

Only the extraordinarily credulous will believe that better theology in the 11th century would have stopped Hitler's genocide. Like Cornwell and Wills, Carroll is trying to use the controversy over Pius XII to win a battle within the Catholic Church. All three books represent an attempt by a dying but still powerful movement to counteract the enormous prestige and popular respect given to Pope John Paul II. Fortunately, given the crowds who flock to see him, it doesn't seem to be working. **NR**

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The National Review 2001

CANADA/NEW ENGLAND "FALL" CRUISE

Aboard
Holland America Line's
Spectacular New

MS Amsterdam
SEPT. 27—OCT. 7, 2001

VISITING THE PORTS OF
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Bar Harbor · Halifax · Sydney
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Enjoy ten days of glorious autumnal colors and stimulating conservative talk with

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As you sail on Holland America Line's elegant new MS *Amsterdam*, with beautiful New England and Canada, ablaze in the glorious colors of the fall season, serving as your stunning natural backdrop, you will enjoy ten days of luxury cruising, superior socializing, gourmet dining, and stimulating political discussions with Bill Buckley, the editors of *National Review*, and leading conservative speakers. Register now to join us on what is sure to be a once-in-a-lifetime travel experience.

Holland America
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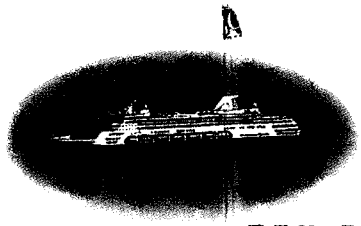


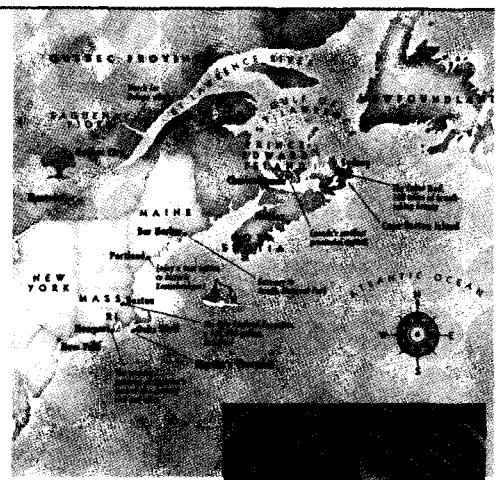
The National Review 2001

CANADA/NEW ENGLAND "FALL FOLIAGE" CRUISE

TEN DAYS OF LUXURY CRUISING AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

DAY 1 You arrive in New York City and board Holland America Line's stunning new MS *Amsterdam*. After getting settled in your spacious cabin, you explore the ship and take in its luxury, comfort, and elegance (so many antiques!). In the late afternoon, we depart the Big Apple, gracefully sailing by Lady Liberty. At night, feast on a gourmet meal (this may be one of the nights when you dine intimately with *NR* editors or guest speakers!), after which there is so much to do: maybe an exciting Broadway-style show, or a quiet cocktail at the piano bar. Whatever you do, you'll find sweet dreams awaiting you in your pleasant quarters.

DAY 2 After a delicious breakfast, you tour Newport: Witness the lavish excesses of this fabled city's Gilded Age by visiting the summer "cottages" of the Vanderbilts, Astors, and Morgans. Come afternoon, it's time for the first of six *National Review* seminars: Each of these exciting, two-hour panel sessions will feature stimulating discussions and debates (plus plenty of "Q&A") from a bevy of conservative all-stars. And what a group we will have on hand to discuss politics and policy: Joining **William F. Buckley Jr.**, will be jurist supreme **Robert Bork**, columnist **Robert Novak**, conservative cultural expert **Linda Chavez**, former Reagan National Security Adviser **Richard Allen**, the incomparable General **Vernon Walters**, the man who knows everybody who is anybody (via stints as CIA boss, ambassador to the U.N. and West Germany, Ike aide, and much more), UPI Editor-in-Chief (and *NR* Editor-at-Large) **John O'Sullivan**, plus the *NR* editorial "gang" of **Kate O'Beirne**, **Rich Lowry**, **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and **Jay Nordlinger**. Afterwards, relax: Catch an invigorating Indian Summer breeze on the Sky Deck, or use your $100 (per person!) cabin credit (our gift to you if you book by May 1) to indulge yourself with a soothing massage, or to book an additional tour. Then at 6:30 join the *NR* crowd for the first of our exclusive, fun-filled social events: tonight, a cocktail reception in the Crow's Nest Lounge (enjoy the top-shelf liquor, hot hors d'oeuvres, great music, and fantastic company!). Next: another delicious dinner (maybe at the intimate Odyssey Restaurant), followed by a wonderful evening with new-found friends.



SO VERY MUCH TO DO: HOW CAN YOU NOT COME?!

DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Thursday/Sept. 27	New York		4:45PM	
Friday/Sept. 28	Newport, R.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Saturday/Sept. 29	Boston, Mass.	7:30AM	6:00PM	**FREE** tour of historic Boston late-night poolside smoker
Sunday/Sept. 30	Bar Harbor, Me.	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Monday/Oct. 1	Halifax, N.S.	8:00AM	5:30PM	afternoon seminar
Tuesday/Oct. 2	Sydney, N.S.	7:00AM	6:30PM	
Wednesday/Oct. 3	Charlottetown, P.E.I.	7:00AM	3:00PM	afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Thursday/Oct. 4	Saguenay Fjord	Scenic Cruising		morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Friday/Oct. 5	Quebec	8:00AM		
Saturday/Oct. 6	Quebec	5:00PM		morning seminar evening cocktail reception
Sunday/Oct. 7	Montreal	8:00AM		

DAY 3 Breakfast in bed? Why not? Let the *Amsterdam*'s staff, renowned for its superior service, pamper you. A great day is in store: If you've signed up by May 1, you're *NR*'s guest for an extensive tour of historic Boston. Trinity Church, Beacon Hill, the Public Gardens, "Old Ironsides," the State House, Faneuil Hall, King's Chapel, the Old North Church, Harvard Yard: They're all stops on this special excursion, which is our gift to you. Tonight, after another great dinner, stop by *NR*'s poolside "smoker," featuring classic **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac!

DAY 4 Yes, you *are* having that much fun. Congratulate yourself for coming. You love the ship, you're making new friends. That was a pleasant breakfast with an *NR* editor, and fascinating dinner conversation with a guest speaker. And such sights! *NR*'s "Fall

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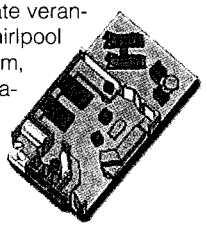
SPECTACULAR, AFFORDABLE, LUXURIOUS ACCOMMODATIONS

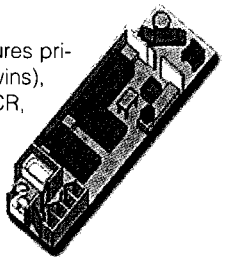
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers the world's highest-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Amsterdam.* Prices are based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,599 for ages 2 and older, $799 for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge servce, complimentary personalized stationary, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



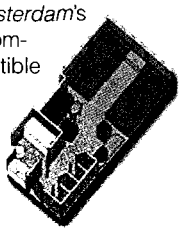
Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,999
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 14,999

MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



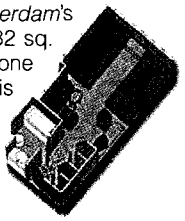
Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,399
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,199
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 11,099

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 7,399

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Amsterdam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,999
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 6,399

Foliage" cruise really *is* the opportunity of a lifetime. Today the *Amsterdam* is in Bar Harbor. Once the summer rival of Newport, this fabled town is rich in the legacy of the 19th-century millionaires. Explore Acadia National Park. Or take the city tour, where you'll clip-clop along tranquil trails in a horse-drawn carriage.

DAY 5 O Canada! We have arrived . . . in Halifax, the capital and cultural center of Nova Scotia and the "Maritimes." With granite boulders pounded by crashing surf, and lighthouses standing sentinel on rocky ledges, the ocean scenery is unrivaled. The city tour includes Halifax Citadel National Park, where the ramparts of a famous British fort and panoramic views await. Topping off this great day is another scintillating *National Review* seminar.

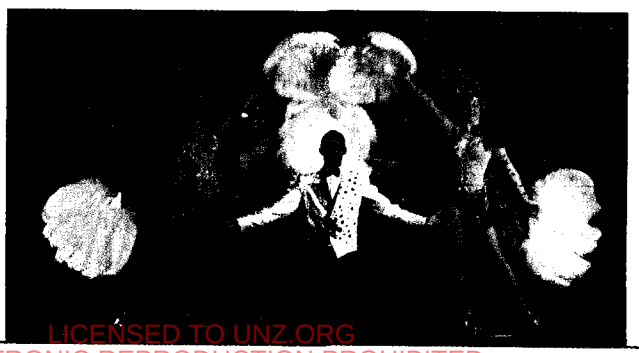
DAY 6 Sydney, Nova Scotia, is today's memorable stop. Cape Breton Island is so green and Gaelic. Explore the scenic 184-mile-long Cabot Trail, or tour the Fortress of Louisbourg, meticulously restored to its 1744 mint condition.

DAY 7 Charming Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, known for its red, sandy beaches, is a provincial capital with a distinctly English feel, where red double-decker buses motor along streets lined with gingerbread-trimmed Victorian houses. Visit Cavendish and the farmhouse immortalized in *Anne of Green Gables.* Why not try sea kayaking, or biking on the Confederation Trail, or a coastline nature walk? There's so much to do, *and* there's an *NR* seminar this afternoon, followed by a delightful cocktail reception.

DAY 8 Today we cruise Saguenay Fjord. Carved by a massive glacier at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Saguenay Rivers, it will awe you with its 1,000-foot cliffs, tree-lined peaks, hidden coves, and frolicking Beluga whales. Catch these between morning and afternoon *NR* seminars. And tonight, there's another relaxing poolside "smoker" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars and cognac.

DAYS 9 AND 10 *Mon Dieu!* We'll spend *two* days in Quebec, the noble walled city with a French accent. Stroll Old Quebec's maze of cobbled streets, with quaint sidewalk cafés, boutiques, and antique shops. Tour Montmorency Falls, higher than Niagara. Promenade down the tree-lined Grand-Alle. Visit the renowned Basilica of Ste Anne de Beaupré, the Place Royale, the "Plains of Abraham," and the fabled Château Frontenac. Our final full day will feature another *NR* seminar, plus a farewell cocktail reception, where we'll toast a wonderful trip and new friendships.

AND FINALLY The *Amsterdam* reaches the destinantion port of Montreal on October 7. You'll disembark with memories that will last a lifetime. But, if you desire, the melody can "linger on": Consider an overnight stay to explore this cosmopolitan center of French Canada, or take a three-night "post cruise" package designed especially by Holland America. *Au revoir, nos amis!*



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National Review 2001 Canada/New England Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

1 Personal

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname _____ Shirt size (M/L/XL) _____

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin) _____

Street Mailing Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

( ) _____

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.) _____

2 Payment

A deposit of $1,500 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $1,500 per cabin is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Each time you use the National Review *credit card to make a purchase, the card's issuer, MBNA America Bank, N.A., will make a contribution to* National Review.

_____
Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to May 25, 2001*	*$75 per person*
May 26, 2001 to June 27, 2001	*$750 per person*
AFTER *June 27, 2001*	*100% of cruise*

3 Cruise

(*All rates are per person, double occupancy. Single rates available upon request.* Air/Sea rates include round-trip air and transfers from select gateways, all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to New York and Montreal.

☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).

☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $32 per person.

IV. GENERAL INFORMATION

Citizenship: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If No, indicate citizenship: _____

V. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send additional information on pre-cruise packages in New York and post-cruise packages in Montreal.

4 Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Amsterdam*. Children do not require photo ID.

CONDITIONS FOR PASSAGE: H2O, Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority or National Review Inc., its owners, agents, or employees accept no responsibility whatsoever for illness, accident, death, dismemberment, weather, strikes,, acts of God, or the accessibility, appearance, actions, or decisions of those individuals promoted for the cruise. Nor can the above-mentioned entities be held responsible for the actions of Holland America Line, participating air carriers, or shoreside personnel or subcontractors. Return of this application indicates full understanding and acceptance of these conditions for passage.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation, motor-coach ground transportation, and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AK	Anchorage	959	FL	Fort Lauderdale	459	IA	Cedar Rapids	539	MO	Springfield	609	OH	Akron	509	TX	El Paso	639	WV	Huntington	459
AL	Birmingham	539		Jacksonville	459		Des Moines	539		St. Louis	509		Cincinnati	509		Houston (IAH)	539			
	Huntsville	539		Miami	459		Waterloo	589	MT	Billings	609		Cleveland	509		Lubbock	639		CANADA ($USD)	
	Mobile	539		Orlando	459	KS	Wichita	589	ND	Bismark	639		Columbus	509		McAllen	639			
	Montgomery	539		Pensacola	459	KY	Lexington	509		Fargo	639		Dayton	509		Midland/Odessa	639		Calgary	709
AR	Little Rock	609		Sarasota	459		Louisville	509		Grand Forks	639		*Toledo*	*509*		*San Antonio*	*609*		*Edmonton*	709
AZ	Phoenix	589		Tallahassee	459	LA	Baton Rouge	559	NE	Lincoln	609	OR	Portland	609	TN	Chattanooga	539		Montreal	339
	Tucson	609		Tampa	459		New Orleans	539		Omaha	559	PA	Allentown*	349		Knoxville	509		Ottawa	349
CA	Fresno	659	GA	Augusta	459		Shreveport	609	NV	Las Vegas	639		Erie	459		Memphis	559		Quebec	409
	Los Angeles	589		Atlanta	459	ME	Portland	459		Reno	659		Harrisburg*	349		Nashville	509		Regina	709
	Oakland	639		Savannah	459	MD	Baltimore*	329	NJ	Newark	219		Philadelphia*	329		Tri-Cities	509		Saskatoon	709
	Ontario	639	HI	Honolulu	1009	MA	Boston*	319	NM	Albuquerque	609		Pittsburgh	459	UT	Salt Lake City	609		St. Johns	589
	Orange County	659	ID	Boise	609	MI	Detroit	509	NY	Buffalo	459	RI	Providence*	349	VA	Lynchburg	459		Toronto	389
	Sacramento	569	IL	Champaign	609		Flint	509		New York	219	SC	Charleston	459		Norfolk	459		Vancouver	709
	San Diego	639		Chicago	509		Grand Rapids	509		Rochester	459		Columbia	459		Richmond	459		Victoria	739
	San Francisco	589		Moline	609		Lansing	509		Syracuse	459		Greenville	459	WA	Seattle	609		Winnipeg	709
	San Jose	*659*		*Peoria*	*559*		*Saginaw*	*509*	NC	Charlotte	459	SD	Rapid City	609		Spokane	609			
CO	Col. Springs	639		Springfield	609	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	539		Greensboro	459	TX	Amarillo	659	WI	Green Bay	509			
	Denver	589	IN	Evansville	509		Rochester	559		Raleigh/Durham	459		Austin	639		Madison	559			
CT	Hartford*	329		Ft. Wayne	509	MS	Jackson	559	OK	Oklahoma City	609		Corpus Christi	639		Milwaukee	509			
DC	Washington*	329		Indianapolis	509	MO	Kansas City	509		Tulsa	609		Dallas/Ft. Worth	509	WV	Charleston	459			

* = Motorcoach may be used from these cities to NYC at the discretion of Holland America Line.

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Amsterdam (Cruise Terminal of New York) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship varies by airport. Schedule your arrival in New York leaving plenty of time for flight delays and traffic in New York! You should arrive in New York no later than 12:30pm on September 27th. Your return flight from Montreal should not be arranged before 12:00noon on October 7th. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $35pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the New York area airports for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

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False Choice

S. T. KARNICK

Protect and Defend, by Richard North Patterson (Knopf, 549 pp., $26.95)

NEVER let it be said that American publishers won't take a risk for a good cause. In fact they are quite happy to do so in support of political liberalism. Richard North Patterson's new novel (his eleventh) is a fine example, involving abortion, the political use of private peccadilloes, campaign-finance reform, and the confirmation process for presidential appointees. The book's first hardcover printing comprises 500,000 copies, making it an instant bestseller, and Random House, the megapublisher that owns Knopf, is promoting it heavily. The book recycles prominent characters from Patterson's other popular legal thrillers, which also helps its marketability.

Of course, such complex and controversial topics can be expected to alienate numerous readers, so the publisher has hastened to assure us that *Protect and Defend* does not take sides. The review in *Booklist* agreed with that assessment, and *Kirkus Reviews* called the author's treatment "generous," while *Publishers Weekly* lauded his "sensitivity to both sides." But while these official sources promote the book as ideologically balanced, the back-cover endorsements—including raves from Alan Dershowitz, Amy Tan, Archibald Cox, Mario Cuomo, and Barbara Boxer—strongly suggest otherwise.

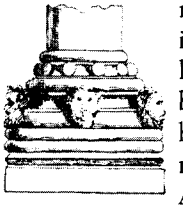
Indeed, as might be expected from this list, the book is less fair than the average political press release. In Patterson's story, a young, newly elected president, the attractive, charismatic, and shrewd Kerry Kilcannon, takes office amid tragedy when the chief justice of the United States (a sworn enemy of the new president's liberal judicial philosophy) dies while administering the oath. Meanwhile, in San Francisco, a young, ambitious lawyer named Sarah Dash takes up the case of Mary Ann Tierney, a 15-year-old girl who is unmarried and pregnant with a hydrocephalic baby and wants to abort it without her parents' consent. There is also a small risk that undergoing a cesarean section, which would be necessary if she were to have the baby, will make her unable to bear children in the future. Just four months earlier, however, Congress had passed the Protection of Life Act, which the previous president (a pragmatic Democrat) signed and is now the law of the land. Under this sinister (but of course entirely fictional) edict, Sarah explains, "You need the consent of a parent before aborting a viable fetus. And even *their* consent must be based on a doctor's 'informed medical judgment' that an abortion is necessary."

■

Liberals are depicted as attractive and devoted to high ideals. Conservatives are portrayed as quite heartless.

■

These two stories are linked by a coincidence highly favorable to the author's purposes: The judge Kilcannon nominates to be the next chief justice, Caroline Masters, is Sarah Dash's close friend and legal mentor. Although the ambitious Judge Masters has never given an opinion—public or private—on abortion, she is known as a liberal, "living Constitution" jurist; and with the Republican senatorial majority already opposing her, the judge's relationship with Sarah threatens to scuttle her chances of becoming the first female chief justice. By another very convenient coincidence, young Mary Ann is the daughter of a prominent pro-life attorney who becomes lead counsel in the legal action to prevent her from obtaining an abortion—opposing his own daughter in court.



In the ensuing parallel abortion-rights trial and confirmation battle, Patterson, a lawyer by training, creates the impression of objectivity by giving both sides time to present their cases. Nevertheless, he always contrives to give the last word to the pro-abortion camp and Masters's supporters. In the courtroom scenes, for example, Sarah, an inexperienced litigator less than 30 years old, invariably gets in the last shot and turns every witness to her advantage, despite Sarah's opponents' far greater legal expertise. This motif further strains the story's credibility by repeatedly requiring her opponents and their witnesses to commit huge blunders and forget to make well-known arguments.

Perhaps the most ridiculous example occurs when Sarah cross-examines a wheelchair-bound bioethicist who opposes the abortion of children who may have disabilities. Sarah exposes him as hypocritical because he does not oppose all abortions, only those of children with disabilities, which would perversely allow mothers to abort healthy children while requiring them to carry to term those most likely to be born with genetic problems. What Patterson fails to explain, however, is why the pro-life attorneys did not bother to find a bioethicist who opposes *all* abortions. The answer, of course, is that Sarah would not be able to counter his arguments so easily.

The author allows his biases to control even the character descriptions. Liberals and their allies are consistently depicted as physically attractive, calm under fire, comfortable with their own sexuality, and devoted to high ideals. "Kerry needed a larger cause than power," Patterson writes, "the belief that he was bettering the future of those who relied on him, and of a country he deeply loved, whose ideals had helped raise Kerry himself, the son of immigrants, to become its leader." The various Republicans, by contrast, scowl, shake their heads, "bristle with aggressiveness," and act "in obvious anger." Anti-abortion protesters are frightening and alien, while the people who kill babies in their mothers' wombs are well-meaning and likeable. The tendentiousness of these characterizations would make even Dickens blush.

Most of the book's conservatives are actually quite heartless: "To [conservative Chief Justice] Bannon, the people

Mr. Karnick is editor in chief of *American Outlook*.

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he affected weren't real, but chess pieces in some mental game of his own invention." Liberals, by contrast, have integrity and principles: "Kerry decides what he thinks is right and then figures out how to make the politics of it work for him—not the other way around," says Masters. The only good conservative, a senator from Ohio, turns against his party to support the president's nominee. "More and more," he says, "I tend to like the people who don't believe as I do more than the ones who do."

Further exemplifying conservative heartlessness is the nefarious organization behind the Protection of Life Act, "Christian Commitment," which Patterson portrays as strictly greedy and power-mad: "They're here to make a propaganda point, and keep their dollars flowing," says Sarah, an opinion that is confirmed throughout the book. Liberals, by contrast, oppose the "politics of personal destruction" practiced by conservatives: "I'm sick of this 'shoot to kill' environment where both parties exhume someone's tired sins to drive them from public life," says Kerry. Yet when a presidential aide warns Masters of how dirty the confirmation fight will be, he lists several real-life examples, all of which are, appropriately, Republicans:

> Shaw locked his gaze on Caroline. "You could be forced to lay your life bare—like John Tower.
>
> "Your net worth will be exposed—like Nelson Rockefeller.
>
> "Your comments at the water fountain 20 years ago might get thrown back at you—like Clarence Thomas.
>
> "The videos you rent from Block-

■ SHELF LIFE ■

TRADITION recommends that one study the Talmud not in private, but with a teacher-companion at one's side. A similar tradition has evolved with respect to the central works of the Western secular canon: In earlier generations, readers accompanied their experience of the plays and poems of Shakespeare with the commentaries of Mark Van Doren (*Shakespeare*) and Derek Traversi (*An Approach to Shakespeare*). In 1998, Harold Bloom—with his surprise blockbuster *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*—found the audience for this genre as large as ever.

Recent months have seen two valuable additions to the shelf of synoptic commentaries on the whole of Shakespeare. W. H. Auden's *Lectures on Shakespeare* (Princeton, 398 pp., $29.95) represents the reconstruction—from the notes taken by students and amanuenses—of a course of 28 lectures given by the great British poet in 1946–47 at New York's New School for Social Research. Auden examines Shakespeare's texts from the point of view of a working poet, and this keeps his erudition from succumbing to pedantry. (The dangers of the latter—that it will eclipse the reader's direct experience of the work—Auden illustrates with a joke from Britain's venerable humor magazine, *Punch*: Two professors of English are taking a springtime walk in the country. The first professor is moved to poetic rapture: "O cuckoo shall I call thee bird / Or but a wandering voice?" The second professor responds: "State the alternative preferred / With reasons for your choice.")

Auden's lectures can be read with profit not just as a commentary, but as an anthology of the best and most revelatory passages of Shakespeare. (A 15-page appendix lists all the passages Auden underlined in his copy of Shakespeare's complete works; to read through the underlinings of an insightful reader is an excellent way to deepen one's own second reading of a text.) Auden's personality is never far from view; he tosses off such memorable epigrams as, "No one was ever seduced by a beautiful poem, though a bad one may be effective on occasion." But as Shakespeare's interested fellow practitioner, he remains focused on the works, and sometimes the epigrammatic flashes reach the heart of the topic: "Notice how frequently the concluding couplets of the sonnets are poor. Unlike many of even the greatest artists, Shakespeare is not interested in completely flawless wholes. He says what he wants to say and lets the sonnet end anyhow. But that is the fault of a major artist, for a minor one always completes the work carefully."

Shakespeare was, of course, a careful poet; but he was judicious in choosing what to be careful about, and this is the subject of Frank Kermode's *Shakespeare's Language* (Farrar, Straus, 324 pp., $30). This, too, is an attempt to see Shakespeare whole, but paying greater attention to the post-1600 works—which display "a new inwardness" and a bolder verbal experimentation: "The verse changed and the vocabulary in general grew more inventive . . . the examination or exfoliation of a word or a group of words and the doublings of words become central to an entire play."

Kermode is a painstakingly close reader, and his teasing out of "semantic subplots"—such as the importance of the word "become" in *Antony and Cleopatra* and the words "time," "man," and "done" in *Macbeth*—displays the determination with which Shakespeare pushed words to their limit. While Kermode's analyses can be intricate, he—like Auden—can be read with great pleasure for the occasional sudden insight. In *The Tempest*, for example, here are Miranda's famous lines on seeing unexpected human beings, after growing up with her father on the desert island: "O wonder! / How many goodly creatures are there here! / How beauteous mankind is! / O brave new world / That has such people in't!" Kermode quotes her father's "disillusioned reply"—"'Tis new to thee"—but comments: "Miranda's lines have depth; she can see what her father has learned not to see."

Tradition has learned to see Prospero as the wise orchestrator of events; that the naïve Miranda can possess a wisdom he lacks is an example of what we have learned not to see in Shakespeare. Kermode and Auden are good companions for a voyage of rediscovery.

—MICHAEL POTEMRA

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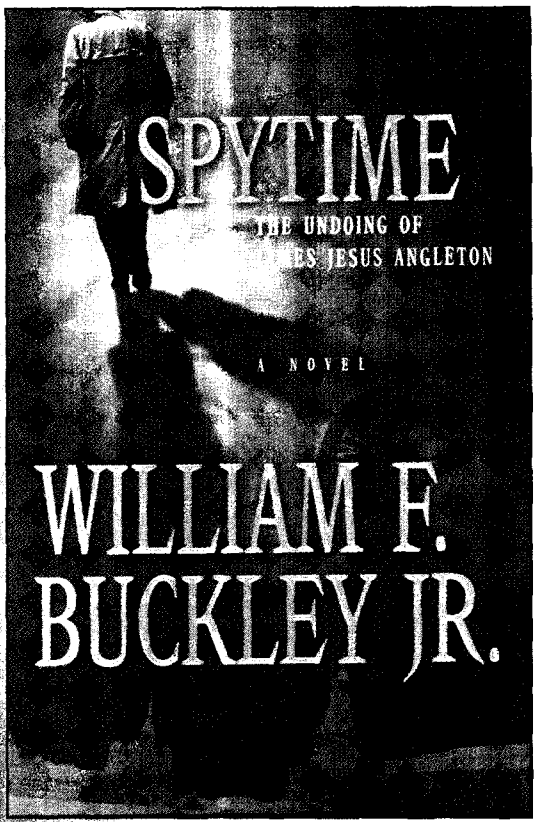

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buster may be uncovered—like Robert Bork.

"Your confidential medical records will be dissected—like William Rehnquist.

"Your former use of drugs or alcohol could be used against you—like Douglas Ginsburg. Or even your driving record in college—like Dick Cheney."

In Patterson's book, dirty tricks and scandalmongering are uniquely Republican sins. Yet, while Republicans are not faultless in this regard, it is significant that Patterson can't think of any Democratic victims to name.

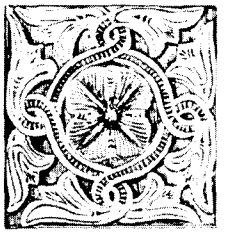
■

The fundamental message of Protect and Defend is that adherence to moral standards is evil.

■

The book's very concept is skewed toward the pro-abortion side. Patterson adduces the hardest possible case for abortion opponents—an underage girl, a tragically handicapped baby, and the potential of serious medical complications if the child is brought to term. And the legal arguments he portrays refer frequently to situations such as rape and incest where a child creates a terrible hardship for its mother. But he allows only an occasional and perfunctory allusion, usually by very unattractive characters, to what a horror abortion is for the child thus destroyed.

The upshot of this very political book, however, is beyond politics. The fundamental message of *Protect and Defend* is that adherence to moral standards is evil: "Sarah guessed that—well before her pregnancy—her father's moral certitude had begun to grate on Mary Ann," and Christian Commitment is the power behind all social iniquities. Fathers throughout the book exemplify moral certitude and are shown to be neglectful, abusive, and inept. Of course, opposition to such moralizing tyrants is not a case of moral certitude itself but merely laudable compassion for the less privileged. Like *The Contender*, *The Cider House Rules*, and other recent political novels and films, *Protect and Defend* posits a perverse, Manichaean world in which good and evil are each the exclusive property of a particular political party.



This is what passes for objectivity on abortion today. *The Cider House Rules* was marketed as a story about love and maturity, and John Irving, author of both novel and screenplay, received a standing ovation at the 2000 Academy Awards ceremony where he won the Oscar for best adaptation. The ads and promotion for both book and film, however, failed to disclose the story's strong pro-abortion stand. This sort of stealth politics is a highly effective way of reaching a mass audience with powerfully biased political arguments that it would otherwise refuse to consider. In fact, Sen. John McCain, who has always presented himself as pro-life, recently endorsed *Protect and Defend* by sending a copy to every member of the Senate and hosting a book-signing party for Patterson in the Capitol. It seems likely that McCain entered this otherwise inexplicable alliance because of the book's advocacy of campaign-finance reform and opposition to Christian conservatism (and the fact that Patterson based the book's only good Republican on him), but this is certainly a vivid example of how influential these fictions can be.

Today's Left—whether in journalism, politics, or art—clearly feels the need to pretend that it respects its conservative opponents and their ideas. But that's the problem: They only have to pretend. Political fabulists like Patterson want us to believe that their tales will impartially weigh both sides of a complex issue—when all we're really getting is skillful manipulation that attempts to conceal their true biases. The open partisanship of the past was surely better than this phony evenhandedness. Conservatives who believe that their arguments are making headway in the culture should reserve judgment for the day a major publisher releases a half-million-copy print run of a novel in which what is being protected and defended is not the right to kill but the right to life. Until then, we had better continue to read between the lines. **NR**

Modern Mystery

JAMES BOWMAN

The Mystery of Courage, by William Ian Miller (Harvard, 346 pp., $29.95)

WILLIAM IAN MILLER, a professor of law at the University of Michigan and author of piquant volumes on *Humiliation* (1993) and *The Anatomy of Disgust* (1997), is brave enough to have written a book about courage, a subject he regards—as much at the end as at the beginning of his story—as a "mystery." Not that its mysteriousness prevents it from being of absorbing interest. Miller is at his best in displaying the results of his trawlings through the literature of war for examples that illuminate what he calls "the emotional terrain" of courage, which includes all those counter-urges—fear, shame, humiliation, and disgust—that courage must overcome.

Miller discusses, for instance, the surprisingly extensive debate over which prospect is more daunting, being blown to bits by a shell or being shot with a rifle. One man can face the prospect of the first with equanimity while being reduced to abject terror by the second; for another, the reverse is the case. "To be killed by a bullet seemed so clean and surgical," wrote Pvt. E. B. Sledge, U.S.M.C., of his service in the Pacific during World War II. "But shells would not only tear and rip the body, they tortured one's mind almost beyond the brink of sanity." Capt. Robert Graves of the Royal Welch Fusiliers in World War I, on the other hand, records that the very randomness of shellfire made it less terrifying. A bullet was aimed at *you*.

Facing bombs or bullets clearly requires courage, but Miller is most fascinated by the ambiguities of his subject. He begins with the case, recorded in a

Mr. Bowman is American editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* of London, film critic of *The American Spectator*, and media critic of *The New Criterion*. He is working on a book about honor.

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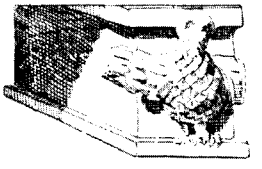
Civil War memoir by Robert J. Burdette, of what he calls "the good coward." This is a person who is a model of discipline and duty in every other way, but who runs from battle. His comrades treat his cowardice with indulgence because he keeps trying in spite of his fear, and Burdette records that by the end of the war he had come to believe that the coward was actually *braver* than those who had not run.

Miller draws another example of brave cowardice from a British memoir of the Italian campaign in the Second World War, which tells of a soldier so lacking in what J. Glenn Gray calls "a sense of union with his fellows" that he can defy both orders from officers and ridicule from comrades, perversely taking pride in the very thing of which most men would be ashamed. Miller speculates that Eddie Slovik, the only American soldier to be shot for cowardice in the last century, was such a man.



It is such cases that give rise to the alleged "mystery" of courage. What Miller means by this is simply that he can't tell where courage comes from. To him it is a mystery because we can never fully trace its psychic roots. Yet is this not equally true of good and evil, kindness and cruelty, love and hatred, and, indeed, the whole gamut of human behavior? Even though we can never fully trace the psychic roots of anything, we are culturally bred up to a childlike faith in the existence of those roots and will go on reading with unquenchable fascination those who, like Prof. Miller, are particularly skilled at digging them out.

The trouble is that, to this extent, his subject really isn't courage at all, but rather its psychic authenticity—to interest him, courage must come from within and not be just a fear of looking like a coward. But courage is particularly unsuited to being treated as a unique psychic event, peculiar to the individual in whom it does or doesn't happen, and both unpredictable and obscure in its origins. Obviously, such treatment maximizes its mystery, but then we are left with the greater mystery of how a quality so essential to the establishment and preservation of human societies can be so mysterious. If the countless armies that have marched across the globe through thousands of years of warfare had had to rely on courage to come bubbling up from some subterranean psychic spring in each individual soldier every time they needed it, they would never have marched at all.

The hard cases that fascinate Miller, it seems to me, take him further away from his ostensible subject and back, always back, to the quest for psychic authenticity. Part of the problem is that he accepts the common but somewhat unreliable distinction between physical and moral courage. "Let us accept as fact," he writes, "that the manifestly physically courageous may not be especially morally courageous. People will face death rather than follow the dictates of their conscience when it tells them that they are risking their life for something trivial, wrong, evil, or just a mistake. The harder question is to what extent moral courage can exist independently of physical courage."

Indeed! But the psychologist of courage nowadays tends to wonder if physical courage alone might not be considered a form of moral cowardice. For if a soldier is motivated to risk death only from fear of appearing to his friends and comrades as a coward, is not his act of bravery itself a form of cowardice? Miller does not go so far as to say this, but he does elevate moral courage to paramount status and so comes near to suggesting that physical courage that is born (as physical courage often is) of the fear of appearing cowardly suffers from what he calls "the taint of honor and shame."

A traditional understanding of the subject would regard that phrase as an oxymoron, but for the assiduous seeker-out of psychic roots, the paths of honor can themselves be something to be ashamed of. Likewise, physical courage that is not a manifestation of moral courage can seem almost its antithesis. To those who think like Prof. Miller, the craven sort of bravery that fears the bad opinion of others more than death itself can seem hardly worthy of the designation. We should remind ourselves that this kind of thinking is not about courage itself so much as it is a redundant tribute to the contemporary passion for genuine, unmediated feeling. That's a mystery of another kind. **NR**

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■ FILM ■

Ominous Appetites

JOHN SIMON

EVEN though he only wrote it, and didn't direct it, ***Faithless*** may be Ingmar Bergman's most personal film. But then, it was directed by Liv Ullmann, who has known him as intimately and as long as anyone. The film deals with a painful story from Bergman's past that seems to have been a thorn in his side. In many of his films, Bergman has allowed bits of it to dribble out, but here he confronts it head-on with an expiating heart. He concentrates on the woman he wronged, a long-ago mistress now dead. Miss Ullmann, herself a longtime former mistress, who contributes much more than routine direction, was the right person to add the woman's-eye view.

Faithless is the tale of the happily married Marianne, an actress (Lena Endre); her husband, Markus, a world-famous conductor (Thomas Hanzon); and David, a stage and screen director, and their closest friend (Krister Henriksson). Out of this true friendship, there evolves a treacherous triangle with tragic consequences. When Marianne gets a scholarship to study theater in Paris, the divorced and womanizing David, on a pretext, joins her there for three weeks of overflowing passion in a small hotel. But the affair continues back in Stockholm, where it wreaks havoc on all involved, not least on Marianne's nine-year-old daughter Isabelle (touchingly played by Michelle Gylemo).

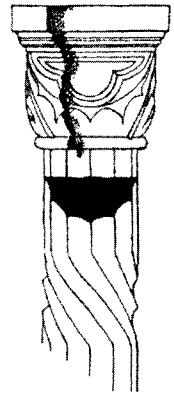
I do not wish to give away a plot full of ominous, even lethal, surprises. But I must state that nobody is entirely innocent here; before two and one-half hours elapse, everyone will have betrayed everyone else with disastrous results, in a story that, like a trick box, has many false bottoms. Still, it is the woman who comes off best: the only one who acts from genuine passion, whose instincts are mostly good, who seems capable of sustaining a relationship, and whose love for her daughter never wavers.

■

Lena Endre's performance may well be the greatest by an actress on film known to me.

■

Bergman's strategy is fascinating. The story is told, basically, from the point of view of the lonely old writer, called Bergman, who lives (like Ingmar) on the isolated island of Fårö. This writer is going over his diaries, perhaps to write a book; to help him do so, he conjures up the image of the dead woman he calls Marianne Vogler (a name recurrent in Bergman's oeuvre), and lets her take over the story-telling. This memory-Marianne that comes to partly independent life for him says, near the end, "I do not much like *your* Marianne," adding yet another dimension to the story, another bottom to the box. Indeed, that there are trendily ambiguous counterindications that this may be a real woman impersonating Marianne for Bergman is the only thing I don't like about the film.



Old Bergman is played—largely in grieving, open-mouthed silence—by the admirable Erland Josephson, as the film shuttles between Bergman and Marianne in the present, and Marianne, Markus, and David (Bergman as a youngish man) in the past. Intercut, too, are moments from the Fårö seashore, shots of exquisite beauty from the camera of the splendid Jörgen Persson, best remembered hereabouts for his work on *Elvira Madigan*. One of the film's remarkable features is the preponderance of scenes tightly confined within four walls, yet such is Persson's artistry with light and shadow and shades of color that his cinematography contributes as much emotion as some filmmakers' entire movies.

All the actors excel, but the triumph is that of Lena Endre, whose Marianne transcends even what Bergman profoundly wrote and Ullmann magisterially directed. Endre's performance may well be the greatest by an actress on film known to me, and beggars attempts to translate it into words.

Miss Endre is, offscreen, a warm, charming, intelligent, and understatedly lovely fortyish woman. Onscreen, she becomes all women of all ages, and in all modes that ever were: from surpassing beauty, through heartbreaking common humanity, all the way to the distorted, frightening visages of extreme rage and crushing agony. Of course, she acts with every part of her lissome body, and her low, slightly husky, hypnotic voice—both in dialogue and in extensive narration—is irresistible.

But the great, unforgettable thing about Miss Endre is her face. Throughout the film she wears several different hairdos, some of which—pushed forward loosely, pulled back, or spread across a pillow—multiply her looks further. She becomes—though not only through them—many different women, from the trusting schoolgirl to the unleashed bacchante, from the voluptuously womanly to the savagely martyred, from blissfully transfigured to distorted with ineffable pain. Everything about this face is miraculous: the perfect oval, the noble brow, the eloquent eyebrows, the aristocratic nose, the full mouth that speaks no less in silence or in little inchoate sounds of dolor or delight.

Supreme, however, are the eyes—those enormous-seeming, bottomless eyes. Their gaze comes from unsoundable depths and sees far beyond its

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immediate object. There is, even in happiness, a soupçon of sadness in it, as if aware of the fragility of joy, of the danger, deceptions, and death lying in wait. These eyes alone, at the thin frontier between bright wonder and the tragic sense of life, warrant seeing the film a second time. Lena Endre will make all women viewers proud of their womanhood, and all men a little more loving toward their women for being her sisters.

■ ***Hannibal***, the sequel to *The Silence of the Lambs*, is a sorry thing indeed. The earlier movie, admittedly based on a better novel, was directed more subtly by Jonathan Demme, using more suggestion. Ridley Scott merely revels in gore. The screenplay by David Mamet and Steven Zaillian tries hard to be both scary and smart-aleck, but cannot even cover up gaping holes in the plot. To think that Hannibal Lecter, who in the novel had plastic surgery on his face but in the movie looks like the same old Anthony Hopkins, would go unrecognized in tourist-filled Florence, even under the name Dr. Fell (of "I do not like thee" fame), is in itself preposterous.

It doesn't help, either, that the rather too genteel Julianne Moore (Jodie Foster having sensibly abstained) makes a much less persuasive Clarice Starling, and that Hopkins himself has used up his old bag of tricks. As the contemptible Justice Department guy who makes Clarice's life miserable, Ray Liotta gives an uncharacteristically miserable performance, but then Scott is a poor director with actors. In smaller roles, fine actors like Željko Ivanek and Enrico Lo Verso are wasted. The only effective work comes from Giancarlo Giannini, who has aged well and shines even in a dumb part, and the uncredited Gary Oldman, who does another of his good and creepy jobs.

The nice thing is that much of *Hannibal* takes place in Florence, whose stones are as photogenic as ever, even if Hans Zimmer's nauseatingly pretentious and persistent score does its best to ruin it for us. A special sheet in the press kit asked us not to give away the ending: I myself would be happy to give away the whole blamed thing, if I thought there would be any takers. **NR**

■ **MUSIC** ■

Bin Browsing

JAY NORDLINGER

THE record stores are bulging, as usual, and, again as usual, they are offering a mixture of the old—which is to say, the reissued—and the new—which is to say, the freshly recorded. Being conservatives, we will start with the old.

Beverly Sills is thought of today mainly as a celebrity, but she was a formidable singer. We see this in the re-release of her "Three Queens" (on Deutsche Grammophon) and in a delightful new anthology, delightfully entitled *Sillsiana* (from Gala). The three queens are those of Donizetti—in *Anna Bolena*, *Maria Stuarda*, and *Roberto Devereux*—and they helped establish Sills as a queen of bel canto. These discs bring it all back: the clarity, the silvery tones, the head-spinning technique. On top of everything else, Sills had a sure musical sense, informing everything she did. She has been rather underrepresented on CD—this new crop is a recompense. The broad from Brooklyn was an artist.

EMI has reissued the complete symphonies of **Vaughan Williams**, along with several of his other orchestral works, conducted by **Adrian Boult**. The recordings come in a box of eight CDs. Boult was one of a grand triumvirate of British conductors, with Thomas Beecham and John Barbirolli. He had a lifelong association with Vaughan Williams; indeed, he premiered many of the composer's works. These recordings are, of course, authoritative, but they are also on the blunt side. Boult's Vaughan Williams is less probing than, for example, Barbirolli's—less reflective, less beautiful, less Mahlerian, in a way. But they have their own excellence, and it is good to have all this Vaughan Williams—a superb corpus—under one roof.

On the subject of conductors linked

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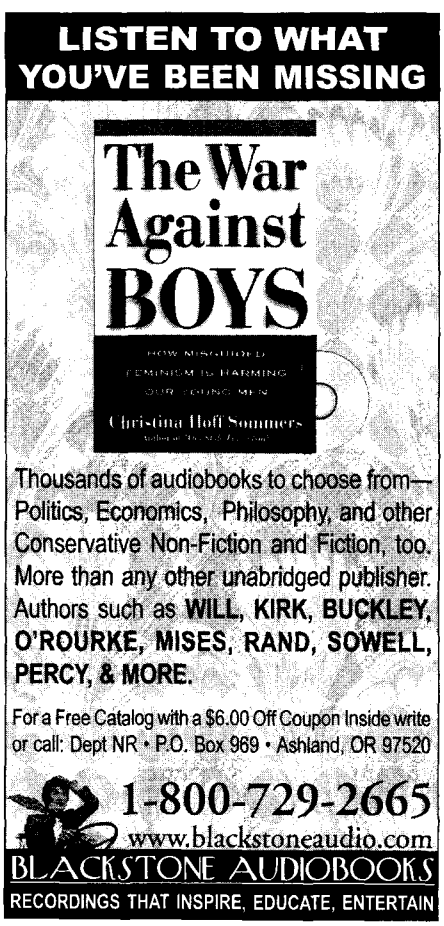
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to particular composers: EMI has also boxed up the complete symphonies of **Bruckner**, led by **Eugen Jochum**. The German maestro is rightly acknowledged as the supreme exponent of Bruckner, not only for his disciple-like devotion to him, but for his astounding ability to bring out all that is great in him. Jochum was more than a champion; he was a kindred spirit. Bruckner conducting requires, above all, a sense of architecture, of musical space; otherwise, we are lost in these long, and long-visioned, works. Jochum has this quality, and everything else that is needed. Every composer could use a Jochum in his corner.

Talk about completeness: The organ works of **Bach**—in toto—appear in a set of 18 CDs (again, from EMI). The organist is **Werner Jacob**, a competent musician, although not one to stir the blood or transport the soul. It is hard to fathom that this extraordinary output—the Bach organ oeuvre—is merely a portion of the extraordinary output that is all of Bach. And, as with the Vaughan Williams, it is bracing to contemplate this mighty catalogue in one place. That by itself is enough to stir the blood, transport the soul.

Part of the EMI line—and, by the way, all the rest of the recordings discussed here, save one (and that indicated), will be from that label: It is the Great Mother of classical-music CDs—is the *Introuvables*, or "Unfindables," series. This series takes rare, often yearned for, gems from the company's vaults and places them in the bins, where buyers can get at them. The latest is a seven-disc set devoted to **Verdi** singing, in this centenary of that composer's death. There are 126 items here, most of them fascinating. They start at the very dawn of recording—1903 or so—and extend to about 1950. Many of the singers are well known, like Enrico Caruso, Frida Leider, and Jussi Bjoerling (who sings "Di quella pira," that fiery aria, with his usual, glorious Swedish cool). More important, there are dozens of worthy singers whose names have been allowed to collect dust. Seldom does a boxed set provide so much: a banquet of singing, a walk through history, and a chance for those who had died to live again.

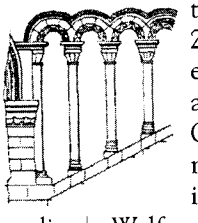
Nathan Milstein enjoyed a long life: He was born in 1903, died in 1992. And for most of that time, he performed before the public. He played everything well—the entire violin repertory was his oyster—but some of us reserve a particular admiration for his **Bach**. It was elegant, insightful, unforgettable. Now his traversal of the unaccompanied sonatas has been reissued. Milstein's Bach is not "correct," by the lights of today's "period" fanatics, but it is unfailingly musical, which is always correct. It is clean, but not sterile. It can be lush, but is never overly so. It is vigorous, gentle, lyrical, imposing—whatever the composer wants. And through it all there is Milstein's incomparable sound—both masculine and lovely—and his deep musical intelligence. This is model playing.

■

Eugen Jochum was more than a champion of Bruckner's; he was a kindred spirit, and it shows in these recordings.

■

A violinist who had an all-too-short life was **Michael Rabin**, who died in 1972 at 35. He is one of those tragedies of music: a performer who did not have the time to develop into the complete musician he almost surely would have been. Rabin was a phenomenal virtuoso, as evidenced by his conquest of the **Paganini** caprices, recorded when he was 22. His playing is tight, assured, and fearsomely accurate. He does not produce an especially beautiful sound; it can be abrasive, or cold. But sound is not necessarily the game in these devilish pieces. It seems that Rabin is in the same position as William Kapell, a pianist who died at 31: frozen forever as a young buck with a ferocious technique and a bold musical personality. There are worse fates.



Now to that which is new, or "new new."

Simon Rattle is set to take over the Berlin Philharmonic, replacing Claudio Abbado, who has been on that podium since 1989. We have a taste of things to come in the form of a Rattle-Berlin recording of **Mahler**'s Tenth Symphony. Mahler did not write a tenth symphony, you say? Quite right: but he wrote a sketch of one, which Rattle has recorded in the "Performance Version" by Deryck Cook. This is not the time for an ethical debate—perhaps later. What we have here is a rich and persuasive reading. The Berlin players—who hire their leaders—obviously respond to this youngish fellow from Liverpool. Orchestra and conductor should have a "long and fruitful association," in the favored cliché.

Thomas Adès is another Englishman who is whizzing along, a young composer (29) of exceptional popularity. He is thought by some to be the wunderkind of our age, and he has won practically every award and decoration there is to win, in his brief life. On a new disc called, simply, *Thomas Adès: Piano*, he is heard as a pianist, playing a motley collection of oddities. These are pieces for children, or having to do with children, or recalling childhood somehow. The disc, strange as it is—or maybe because it is so strange—is a delight. It features unfamiliar music by out-of-the-way composers, such as Stanchinsky, Kurtág, and Nancarrow, and unfamiliar music by common composers, such as Grieg, Janacek, and Stravinsky. There is a lot of fun here, as there typically is in children's music—games, jokes, souvenirs. Adès plays well, too. A quirky triumph.

Last, consider the German baritone **Matthias Goerne**, whose stunningly beautiful voice has been described and marveled at in these pages before. Known primarily as a lieder singer, he has now done an album of opera arias (on Decca), ranging from Mozart to Berg. In arias from *Die Zauberflöte*, he is stylish and endearing; he is also strong in arias from *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, although his Italian is not especially Italian. (His "o," in particular, is Germanic.) In Wolfram's music from *Tannhäuser*, Goerne is creamy and languid. There is just a smidgeon of what some would disparage as "crooning," but one man's crooning can be another's fine lyricism. In the *Wozzeck* selections, he is commanding. And crowning all is that rapturous sound.

Never has so much music been available to man. The above, obviously, is just a few morsels. Dig in. **NR**

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WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Powell Versus Bush?

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 2

THE Lockerbie decision reminded everybody that Libya is one of what we used to call rogue states, a designation gone out of fashion. Diplomacy doesn't like provocative categories, inasmuch as it is diplomacy's business to weave in and out of such problems as are presented to the world by rogue states. For instance, any rogue state that acquires a nuclear bomb is promoted to world-class respect. President Bush has called for reaffirming the sanctions against Libya. These sanctions have been in place for 15 years. Our opposition to Libyan terrorism was nicely punctuated in 1986 by President Reagan, who sent an Air Force detachment to strike at Tripoli, downheartedly finding Qaddafi away from the house when the bombs homed in on his bedside.

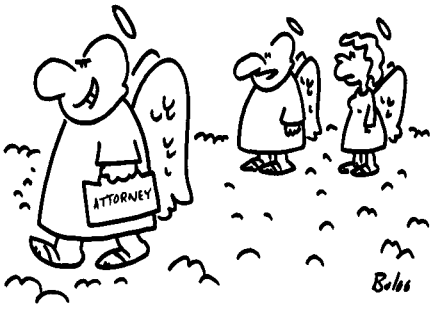
But this call by President Bush, while not exactly colliding with a policy initiative of his secretary of state, calls into question the criteria by which we have been guided over the years in the matter of sanctions. There are nearly 200 nations in the world, and we have, since World War I, imposed sanctions on 125 of them. Some of these sanctions were paramilitary, as e.g., those against Hitler's Germany and Tojo's Japan. But most have been graduated acts of diplomacy. And what we heard from Secretary Powell, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was that he favored not exactly phasing out sanctions, but "get[ting] rid of most of [them]."

An outfit called USA Engage, which wants to increase trade everywhere, particularly in those areas in which we are inhibited from doing so by economic sanctions, is the target of an essay by Frank J. Gaffney Jr., president of the Center for Security Policy. USA Engage "would effectively eliminate the United States' ability to impose economic sanctions on a unilateral basis." The instrument of reform is some version or other of Sen. Lugar's 1998 Enhancement of Trade, Security and Human Rights Through Sanctions Reform Act. The objective, Mr. Gaffney persuasively speculates, is to end by yielding to the United Nations the authority to impose sanctions. Currently we impose sanctions on 75 countries, the U.N. on fewer than a dozen.

Gen. Powell hasn't disclosed which sanctions he'd seek to mitigate or to end. The ghostly presence in that room is, of course, Cuba. But that boycott is so freighted with political dynamite, Gen. Powell may, even though he is a decorated soldier of courage, funk any direct recommendation that the Cold War attitude towards Cuba should be revised as anachronistic. What will never be anachronized, or should never be, is the odium felt for Cuba's despotic and sadistic leader. But the whole idea of reform is to detach commerce from diplomatic policy. Our tradition has been to recognize de jure leaders, and often de facto leaders.

No doubt Gen. Powell is influenced by the marginalization of economic sanctions, which is a fruit of globalization. Multilateral sanctions can work, as we saw in the case of South Africa. But the situation there was unique. They had a racist government which, after some years, people stampeded to oppose, including students marching to enjoin divestitures by college trustees.

But what doesn't much work is unilateral sanctions, because some other country is going to augment its trade to make up for the trade lost by the one imposing the sanctions. The idea, ten years ago, was to bring Saddam Hussein to his knees by sanctions imposed by all the powers that participated in the Gulf War. But only the United States continues officially committed to sanctions, and we have got the irony of a theoretically abject Saddam Hussein who finds enough money to bestow $10,000 on the family of every Palestinian casualty, and to talk about raising the price of oil by fifty cents.



"I understand he got in on a technicality."

Mr. Gaffney is correct that in one respect the U.S. is unique, and that is the leverage we have in "carefully crafted financial sanctions—including limiting access of offending foreign government-controlled entities to the U.S. debt and equities markets."

So we will see how President Bush homes in on the question, confident that he will not preside over American disarmament, sanctions being a dimension of national power.

FAQ: Missile Defense

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 6

IN the matter of Mr. Bush's determination to proceed with an anti-missile system, the fundamental questions are pretty easily analyzed.

The first is feasibility. Some critics of anti-missile defense deplore it on the grounds that it simply will not work. Donald Rumsfeld has said rather plainly that he thinks of himself as an expert on questions having to do with American security, but he is not an expert on anti-missile technology.

No one is, in fact. It is a long distance between conceptual reasoning and empirically tested reasoning. The fancy that a missile shot out of the ground in North Dakota could make its way to a missile shot out of the ground in Iran and interrupt its flight is fanciful only if we can't in fact do it. There has been much celebration among the critics over two theatrical failures in the last year. For the skeptics, it was as if a hidden camera revealed that Christ in fact had not arisen.

The fact remains: What we have not succeeded in doing today ought not to be thought ontologically undoable tomorrow. When in 1958, spurred on by the Soviet Sputnik, we began missile launching in Florida, we had a couple of ignominious failures. But we had then, and don't now, the knowledge that it could work, because the enemy had actuated the idea of a satellite. This challenge will be more difficult, which however leaves it a challenge,

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something less than the pursuit of the impossible the skeptics are so anxious to postulate.

So then we have the diplomatic question. On Tuesday we had on the front page of the *International Herald Tribune* two Bronx cheers. Mr. Putin has arranged to meet with the leaders of two rogue nations. And Peking published a newspaper the front page of which depicts Messrs. Bush and Powell as agents of a "space war" against China.

Though not a smiling matter, one smiles. The Russian leader concerts with the tyrants of North Korea and of Iran to bolster the notion that American security is best provided for by betting on the continence of such as Kim Jong Il and Mohammed Khatami to reassure Americans living in Detroit that it is not worthwhile exploring the development of some sort of a missile shield. And the Communists in Peking, who have been busy developing their scratchy but no less deadly nuclear arsenal and threatening Taiwan with it, reply to Mr. Bush's initiatives by depicting him as engaged in a space war. It requires generations of intellectual docility, especially cultivated during the Cultural Revolution, for readers of the press of the People's Republic to assume that the development of an anti-missile system is a warlike initiative. What is it alleged that we would do, rain down anti-missiles over Peking?

Henry Kissinger, with his central hold on good sense, has addressed his longtime friends and associates in Europe by going at the question the other way around. You simply cannot expect the leading power in the world to do exactly nothing, in an age in which the development of ultimate weapons of destruction—nuclear, biological, and chemical—are realizable ambitions of leaders without scruple.

There is absolutely no alternative to such an attitude as Mr. Bush has so reassuringly shown in the matter. It is to be likened to the decision by Mr. Reagan to deploy theater weapons in Europe to counteract the complementary threat from the Soviet Union.

Diplomatic work is clearly necessary, but diplomatic servility, of the kind practiced by Clinton from time to time with the U.N., is wrong, and Bush is not likely to get bogged down by it. Nobody knows the European scene better than Donald Rumsfeld, and Gen. Powell also knows how to take command. All systems are go.

The Paul O'Neill Hour

NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 9

PAUL O'NEILL, our treasury secretary, breathes clean air and has clean thoughts, and the response to them is Orwellian. We have not seen what Jay Leno and Mr. Letterman et al. will be doing to him in the days ahead, but he will be made to sound like the Neanderthal Man, arriving on the scene in his Lexus, having escaped from all socially liberating thought since the Industrial Revolution. What Mr. O'Neill said was that he thought it quite wrong to conduct economic policy in a "robber baron" rhetorical context in which attention is given to who gets what after tax reform. "I think it is really corrosive to have this argument. . . . It's not worthy of where we are."

The allure of ad hominem arguments is as ever irresistible. The news accounts tell us that Paul O'Neill made $59 million in salary and stock options last year, from which we are supposed to deduce that he is especially inclined to favor rich taxpayers. To be sure a few will reflect that the experience of a man who brought about the reformation of an entire industry (aluminum) is worth much more to the United States prospectively than the $59 million paid to its chairman. But on one matter, attention needs to be paid. It is: Should heavy emphasis be given to the incidence of reform taxation? Or merely to the economic impact of it?

Robert Greenstein of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities was shaken by what he saw as the implied consequences of Mr. O'Neill's criticism. "You have to allow a conversation about who would get the benefits of various tax-cut proposals without being accused of waging class warfare." Yes, but the mode in which such discussion is conducted is readily seen as such when the effort isn't to analyze disinterestedly, but to curry resentment. And the same day that we heard from Mr. Greenstein, we heard from Senate minority leader Daschle just the kind of thing Mr. O'Neill is getting at: Mr. Daschle said the rich are getting richer, the poor poorer. But that has nothing at all to do with the question whether the proposed tax reform is desirable.

It isn't as though Mr. Bush proposes to tax the poor more heavily. The taxation of the poor is already heavy, but it is done not through income taxes but payroll taxes, and neither Al Gore nor Ralph Nader proposed reducing those, given the shortfall in sight 25 years from now on Social Security payments.

No, Mr. Bush proposes to cut from 15 percent to 10 percent on the first $6,000 in taxable income for singles and to double the child tax credit and reduce the marriage penalty. The tax rate on low-income families would be reduced by 40 percent; a family of four making $35,000 would get a 100 percent tax cut.

And so on. But Mr. O'Neill is calling attention to large trajectories, which have to do, of course, with growth. It was splendid to hear him say what he did about the corporate income tax, which some of us in the past have identified as a tax purely demagogic in character, done mostly for the purposes of relative ease of collection. Mr. O'Neill said he thought it "goofy"—in the language of the *Washington Post*'s Steven Pearlstein and Paul Blustein—to tax corporations that "simply pass the tax on to consumers in the form of higher prices." That happens, obviously: Corporations don't pay taxes, their clients do; corporations don't make a gift of 7.65 percent of your salary in Social Security tax; the money would be yours in higher wages if the corporation weren't sequestering it as a fake contribution to the employee. And O'Neill said that of course that tax led "to the creation of a small but well-paid army of lobbyists and tax accountants whose unceasing efforts to create and exploit loopholes distorts corporate decision-making and serves as a drag on economic growth and efficiency."

But the high moment was yet to come. He closed by saying, "It's just annoying to me that people have all these damned excuses"—for putting off transparently beneficial tax reform. He said that in the corporate world, something like this would be taken care of in a matter of weeks.

A month or so ago, an Internet poll gave off the names of the "Top 10 Economists on the Net": No. 1. Karl Marx. 2. Adam Smith. 6. John Kenneth Galbraith. 9. Milton Friedman. A second poll: "The Top Ten Living Economists on the Net": 1. John Kenneth Galbraith. 2. Milton Friedman.

This really tells it all. Karl Marx was not an economist; he was a social revolutionary.

J. K. Galbraith is correctly deemed tops in influence, but his influence is that of a social-policy advocate and philosopher. Mr. O'Neill has highlighted these differences. Adam Smith and Milton Friedman prescribe policies aimed at increasing wealth and freedom. Paul O'Neill is a disciple.

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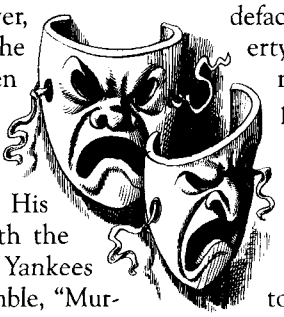
FLORENCE KING

THE ultimate test of a civilization's collective character is the value it places on idiosyncratic forms of honor. Ours were on heartening display in the public's reaction to the eleventh-hour kleptomania committed by departing Clintonians aboard Air Force One. More Americans were more shocked by the theft of silverware, dishes, and blankets than ever cared about Monica, Whitewater, and Chinagate combined.



The citizens of Fall River, Massachusetts, reacted the same way when Lizzie Borden was accused of shoplifting twelve years after being acquitted of double homicide. You know God's in His heaven and all's right with the world when rock-ribbed Yankees shake their heads and grumble, "Murder is one thing, but . . ."

Thomas De Quincey understood this phenomenon. In his essay "Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts," he wrote: "If once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to think little of robbing; and from robbing he comes next to drinking and Sabbath-breaking, and from that to incivility and procrastination."

In other words, little things mean a lot because they are the things that most people can readily understand. As with all motivations to good behavior, this one is a matter of pride. Knowing ourselves to be incapable of crime on a really titanic scale, we harbor a corresponding dread of being exposed as petty criminals. We might not have the brains or the guts to pull off murder or extortion, but we're by-God not going to get caught swiping pillowcases and suffer the embarrassment of everybody knowing that we think small.

However, if somebody else gets caught swiping pillowcases, our dormant self-disgust suddenly awakens and "reaches out," as Republicans say. Psychiatrists use the term "projection" to describe the human urge to punish people who remind us of the least flattering aspects of ourselves.

Miss King can be reached at P. O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

The sure knowledge, evident to all by now, that we will never see the end of Bill Clinton is building up a massive sense of frustration in the country. It would help if an example were made of his light-fingered minions, but the Bushies don't seem to know it, or else are ignoring it.

The absence of righteous wrath on the part of the new administration is a big letdown. Between Air Force One thievery and the sophomoric destruction and defacement of White House property, I was sure that our long national nightmare of compassionate conservatism was finally over, but instead of ending with a bang it is proceeding with the old familiar whimper.

Asked about Bush's reaction to the trashing of the White House, Ari Fleischer said, "He does not consider it a personal affront." The copiers are spitting out cartoons of him as Alfred E. Neuman talking dirty and he doesn't consider it a personal affront?

Fleischer, who is fast shaping up as the man I'm going to love to hate, is a virtuoso on the humility horn, his boss's favorite instrument, which he tooted in a passage of triple-tonguing that approached incoherence: "The president understands that transitions can be times of difficulty and strong emotion. And he's going to approach it in that vein. The question is, Do you have [to] blame somebody in this town? . . . President Bush is not going to come to Washington for the point of blaming somebody in this town. And it's a different way of governing; it's a different way of leading."

Bush's refusal to lower the boom on the Klepto Klintonians is winning him love in all the wrong places, such as the *Washington Post*. Columnist William Raspberry, who never writes about class differences except to condemn them, promptly donned a powdered wig to write: "Bush's no-prosecution decision is both more elegant and more gracious. If this is a class war, then it's the Bush people who are displaying all the class."

This is the kind of self-image that kept Bush the Elder in a state of paralysis. There are only so many battles we can remain above before the enemy decides that we won't fight. Moreover, the compliment has no basis in fact. Aristocrats, being imperious, have a short fuse—witness Coriolanus continually exploding at the plebeians whose votes he must court in his run for consul, at one point even berating them for having halitosis ("You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate"). But we live in democratic times, and "aristocrat" is defined accordingly: It now means someone so polite that he takes crap without protest.

Speaking of class, I have a thought about the stripping of Air Force One. It might not have happened, at least on such a grand scale, if the presidential seal were not plastered all over everything. It's one thing to have it on the china used for formal White House banquets, but whose idea was it to put it on tote bags, baseball caps, coffee mugs, playing cards, pens, coasters, and bedding?

Could it be someone whose instincts were formed in the class dedicated to the proposition that more is more? The class that can't leave a plain surface alone? The class that sticks skid daisies in the bathtub and wood-burnt signs on the mailbox? If you've got it, don't flaunt it, as the late George Apley would say, but that same someone might even have the presidential seal tattooed on a part of his person that he has been known to flaunt.

Meanwhile, Bush continues to fit himself into democracy's definition of an aristocrat. His latest effort, a presidential first, is tagging along on the opposition's policy retreat. "Some may think I'm naïve to want to rid the system of rancor," he is reported to told have the Dems, "but that's my intent." To angry Republicans he advised, as Tom Delay paraphrased it, "Get over it, guys. Let's not hold any hard feelings. Ashcroft was confirmed. I didn't like the way he was treated. Ashcroft didn't like the way he was treated. But so what? Let's move on."

We're in put-it-behind-us-and-move-forward mode again, a daunting feat when you think about it, recalling that passage in the Bible where somebody "tied his ass to a tree and walked thirty leagues." **NR**

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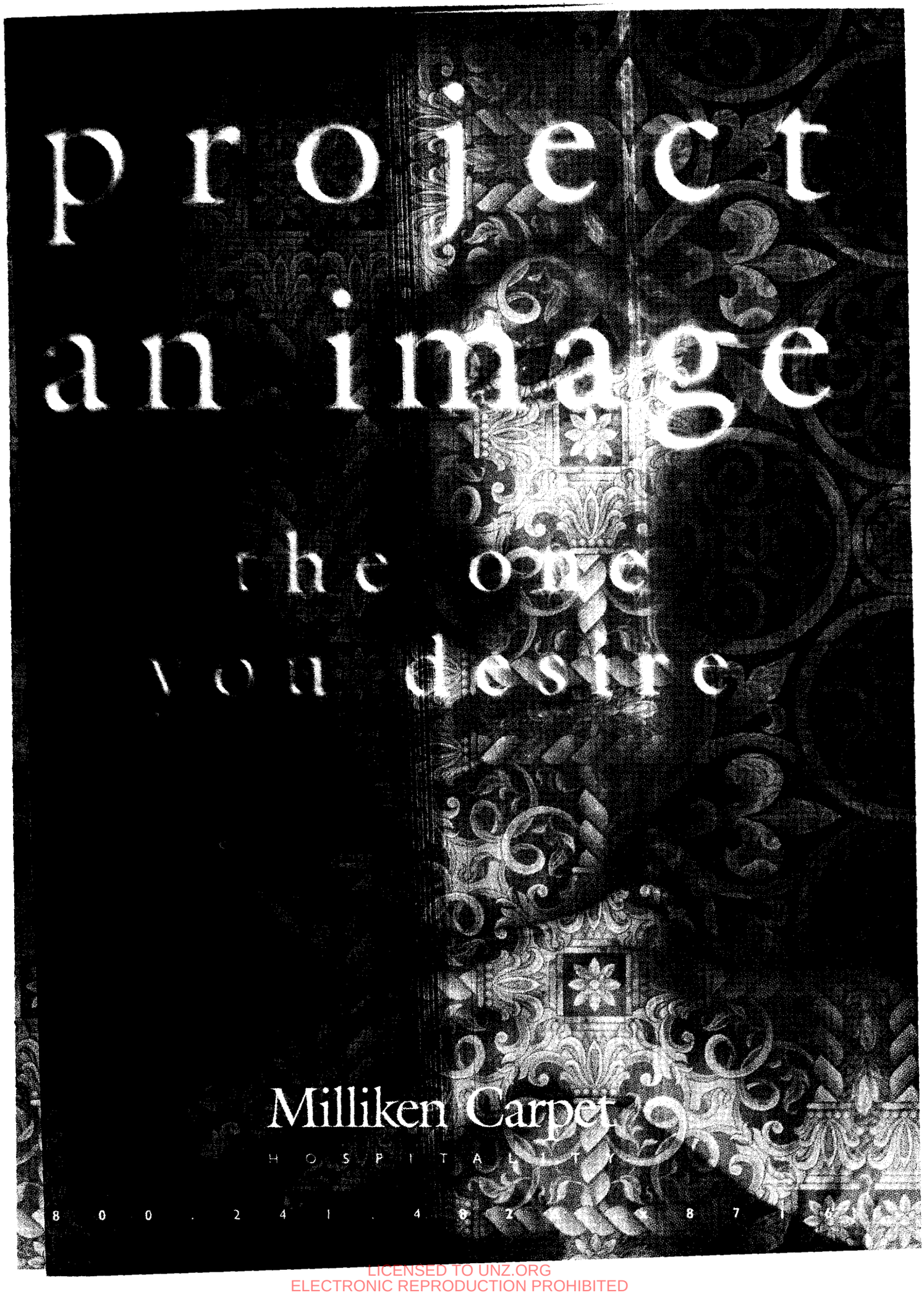

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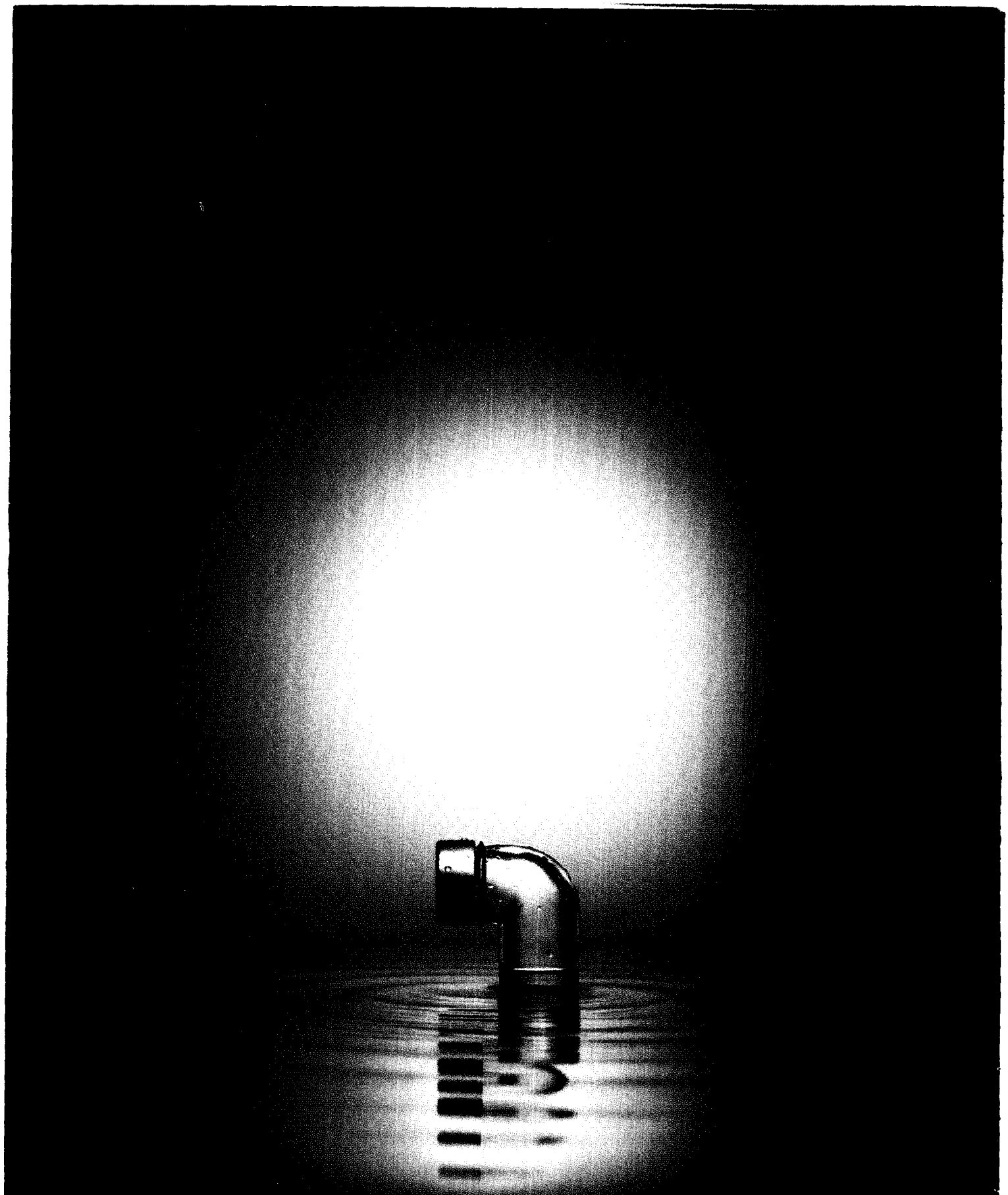

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